BRAHUI LANGUAGE

Past, Present and Future

Edited by:

Sikander Brohi

Brahui Academy, Pakistan

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(Proceedings of International Conference on Brahui Language and Culture held in Islamabad on January 17-18, 2015)

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FOREWORD

Brahui is one of the ancient languages of the world. According to the opinion of the majority of the linguists Brahui language belongs to the Southwestern group of Dravidian languages. German scholar Christian Lassen was the first linguist to declare Brahui as a Dravidian language. He studied Brahui language and speech forms and after its comparative study with the other Dravidian languages came with the opinion that Brahui basically belonged to the Dravidian family of languages.

However, it is unfortunate to note that according to a warning issued by UNESCO in 2009 Brahui has become an endangered language. This has generated a wave of concern among, not only Brahui speaking people but also all the language-loving people of Pakistan, as the threat of extinction to Brahui language, is, in fact, the death threat to the history, culture, folklore, folk songs and all other cultural treats of millions of Brahui speaking people of Pakistan.

Established in May 1958, Brahui Academy Pakistan's key objective is to make efforts for the promotion and development of Brahui language, literature, culture and traditions in Pakistan and abroad. To achieve these objectives Brahui Academy Pakistan has been making following efforts:

- Organizing seminars, conferences, workshops, and meetings for the development and improvement of Brahui language.
- Collecting and publishing material on Brahui poetry, literature, dictionary, essays, folk literature and traditions etc.

- Translating standard Brahui literature into other languages and also the valuable and popular literature of other languages into Brahui language.
- Encouraging and supporting Brahui scholars, writers, and poets as well as Brahui newspapers, magazines, and literary institutions and clubs, through grants and awards etc

Brahui Academy Pakistan organized 'International Conference on Brahui Language and Culture' on January 17-18, 2015 at Allama Iqbal Open University Islamabad, with the support of Allama Iqbal Open University, Participatory Development Initiatives (PDI) and Sughar Empowerment Society (SES). Following were the key objectives of the conference:

- Bring language researchers and experts together on one platform to review Brahui language and culture.
- Discuss the origin of Brahui language and its relationships with other neighboring languages
- Review the present status of Brahui language, literature, and its growth as well as the future of Brahui language
- Understand cultural diversity, history, and customs of Brahui communities.
- Prepare recommendations for the revival and growth of Brahui language and preservation of Brahui culture

The conference was a great success. A number of research scholars from the USA, Spain, Germany, Iraq, Mexico and other countries of the world and renowned research scholars and linguists of Pakistan presented their papers at the conference. Nawabzada Haji Lashkari Raisani was the chief guest in the inaugural session which was presided over by Dr. Prof. Shahid Siddiqui, Vice Chancellor Allama Iqbal Open University. The then Balochistan Chief Minister Dr. Abdul Malik Baloch was

the chief guest on the second day of the conference. The conference was followed by literary *mushaira* and a musical program which continued till late night.

In fact, it was the second international conference on Brahui language organized by Brahui Academy Pakistan. The first 'International Conference on Brahui Language and Literature' was organized on 14th of August 1994 in the auditorium of University Law College, Quetta.

Brahui Academy Pakistan is grateful to all national and international scholars who took pains to prepare scholarly papers for the second International Brahui Conference. We must appreciate the efforts of our hardworking scholar Mr. Sikander Brohi for collecting the conference papers presented in English, making necessary edits and bringing them in the shape of a book. Efforts are also being made to publish the papers presented in Brahui and Urdu language in the conference in the book shape. The book is in your hands. We do hope that this book would prove to be a valuable contribution to the promotion of Brahui language and literature.

Dr. M. Salah-ud-Din Mengal
Chairman
Brahui Academy, Pakistan
Quetta

INTRODUCTION

One of the key languages of Indus civilization as well as the mother language of Brahui Khans of Kalat state, unfortunately, Brahui language has always remained in the disadvantageous position. Brahui Khans had adopted Persian as their court language, with all their correspondence and record maintained in this language, leaving little space for their mother language to groom in the Brahui state. The nationalist movement in Balochistan initiated during the Indian partition days picked Balochi language as the key element of Baloch nationalist identity at the expense of Brahui language, which further cornered this indigenous language. After the creation of Pakistan as the British Balochistan and the Brahui state of Kalat became part of the country and were merged into one provincial identity i.e. Balochistan, once again Brahui lost its opportunity of being recognized as one of the provincial languages of Pakistan.

Unfortunately, the deliberate efforts of cornering and marginalizing Brahui language did not stop there and are still continuing in the face of political confrontation between advocates of two strong narratives i.e. The state-sponsored narrative is that Pakistan is one nation Urdu being its only national language, while according to the provincial nationalists narrative provinces are historical nations and the main language of each province should be considered as the national language of Pakistan. The other regional languages being spoken in all the provinces of Pakistan including Brahui bear the brunt of this political confrontation as their voice is completely muted in the face of this confrontation.

Such confrontation reaches its heights during the

holding of the national census in Pakistan. In all the Pakistani provinces, the provincial nationalist forces launch rigorous campaigns, pleading with the speakers of other regional languages to enter the name of the main provincial language in the column of 'language' in the census form in place of their mother language as to ensure the majority position of the main provincial languages against the other languages being spoken in the provinces. The final counting of the speakers of different languages in Pakistan on the basis of such manipulated census results shows the number of speakers of Brahui and other indigenous languages as very negligible to the extent meriting no government / official support for the uplift and progress of such 'minority languages'. While on the contrary the language censuses carried out by the Britishers in 1911 had shown Brahui language as the majority language of Balochistan.

Such political moves have brought Brahui language to the condition where it has been declared as one of the threatened languages of Pakistan by UNESCO. However, in the face of such challenges, there are many signs of rejoicing. With the passage of time, there has been growing feeling among the Brahui speaking people especially its youth and educated people that both the official and nationalist forces are not doing justice with Brahui language and it is now the responsibility of the speakers of the language to promote their endangered mother language. The number of youth writers is growing who prefer to read and write in their mother language. We can see a growing web of literary organizations throughout Balochistan working for the promotion of Brahui language. Organizing Brahui literary seminars and conferences have become one of the frequently occurring literary activities, scholars have started working on Brahui dictionary and books are being published on different genres of Brahui language and literature. This has also had ripple effects in

Sindh Province also where quite a large number of Brahui community lives. In Sindh province also literary organizations for Brahui language are emerging and Brahui writers are coming on the forefront to create literature in their mother language.

After the success of the national seminar on 'Brahui language and Literature' organized by Participatory Development Initiatives (PDI) in Karachi Sindh in May 2014, it was Dr. M. Salah-ud-Din Mengal, Chairperson Brahui Academy Pakistan, who came up with the idea of holding an international conference on Brahui language in Islamabad, the capital city of Pakistan. He expressed his desire during our meeting in Quetta Balochistan and asked me to be the focal person for this conference. We started our journey in September 2014 by getting the website of international Brahui conference registered, uploading all the conference material including the call of papers on the website. We also developed and published a very beautiful conference brochure. With all the material set, we started disseminating the information about the conference nationally and globally, sending emails to the national and global researchers, making calls, holding Skype meetings etc.

The response we received was tremendous as a number of international scholars showed their wiliness to present their research work at the conference. However, there were also hurdles and challenges i.e. most of the foreign scholars were unable to get their travel funded due to what they called in such a short time span. The second equally challenging issue was how to ensure Pakistan visa for a number of Indian scholars given the tense political relations between both the countries. Despite such hurdles, about half a dozen foreign scholars participated in the conference and presented their papers. The two-day schedule of the conference remained jam-packed with a large number of scholarly paper presentations, which

culminated at the *Mushaira* and Brahui musical event. The papers at the conference were presented in English, Urdu and Brahui languages. The book in your hand is the collection of the papers written and presented in English language and efforts are also being made to publish Urdu and Brahui language papers.

I am thankful to Dr. M. Salah-ud-Din Mengal, Chairperson Brahui Academy Pakistan, Mr. Sosan Brahui as well as Mr. Zahid Brahui, the pillars of Brahui Academy for their continuous support during the collection of the papers, editing process, and publication of this book, which is in your hands. The comments and feedback of the readers would certainly guide us to further improve the literary and academic endeavors for Brahui language.

Sikander Brohi
General Secretary
Brahui Academy, Pakistan
(Sindh Chapter)

1

The Brahui Language: Recovering the Past, Documenting the Present, and Pondering the Future

Dr. Elena Bashir

Abstract

This paper introduces recent historical linguistic research on the Brahui language, against the background of past research. It attempts to encourage comparison of the language as documented in the 19th and early 20th centuries with the state of the language in 2015, and documentation of the current state of the language. In addition, it suggests possibilities and priorities for documenting today's Brahui language employing new concepts in the field of language documentation and addressing questions of particular interest. The future of the language is intimately involved with questions of literacy development, production of various kinds of oral and written language resources, and the decisions which Brahui speakers make about their use of the language. None of the questions surrounding these issues is simple or straightforward. The author hopes that such discussions will encourage young scholars to pursue such questions as well as the field of linguistics, which is sorely underdeveloped in Pakistan and is necessary to advance scientific research on the Brahui language.

1. Recovering the past

1.1 Historical linguistics

The aspect of the Brahui language, which has attracted the most attention from linguists and historians, as well as Brahui speakers themselves, is its geographical position far from the Dravidian-speaking area in South India. It is spoken mainly in Pakistani Balochistan, but also in Iran, Afghanistan, and minimally in Turkestan (Panikkar 1993). The first well-known statement on the question of the genetic affiliation of Brahui is that by Caldwell (1987: 633), who said, "...the theory I advocated [in the 1856 first edition] — (not that the Brahui was a Dravidian language, but that 'it evidently contained a Dravidian element, an element which was probably derived from the remnant of some ancient Dravidian race incorporated with the Brahuis') — has been confirmed." Later, however, Grierson (1906: 281) held Brahui to be "clearly Dravidian". This position has been maintained by most scholars since then. Brahui, along with Kuṛux and Malto, has been considered to be a North or Northwest Dravidian language (Andronov 2006: 146).[1] However, since 1975 David McAlpin has been closely examining the question of whether Brahui is, in fact, a Dravidian language.[2] His views, challenging this position, have evolved and developed over the years (1975, 1979, 1980, 1981, 2003, in the press, forthcoming; and Southworth & McAlpin 2013). Most recently he concludes that Brahui is not Dravidian proper, but a separate branch of a Proto-Elamitic (sister to Proto-Dravidian) branch of a Proto-Zagrosian family (named for the Zagros Mountains of southwestern Iran) (Southworth & McAlpin 2014). Elamite was spoken in

1. See McAlpin 2003: 521–526 for a summary of the argumentation for the North Dravidian Hypothesis.
2. McAlpin is not the first scholar to entertain these ideas. McAlpin (1981: 13–14) summarizes the history of the idea, beginning with Edwin Norris in 1853.

what is now southern Iran, mainly in the Zagros Mountains extending from Mesopotamia into Balochistan, in the period beginning in the fourth millennium B.C.E. until it was absorbed into the Achaemenid Persian Empire (McAlpin 1979:75). This means that Brahui is closely related to the Dravidian languages, while not belonging to the same sub-group of Proto-Zagrosian that Dravidian does.

McAlpin's conclusion is based on applying the methodology of historical linguistics to collect data from Elamite and all the known Dravidian languages. That is, in order to demonstrate that languages belong to the same (sub-) grouping (i.e. descend from the same immediately higher node in a "tree" diagram), one has to demonstrate that they share a common innovation. For example, if a proposed ancestor language has feature X, and some of its daughter languages have feature X while others have a new feature Z, one can say that those languages which share the innovative feature Z form a subgroup. McAlpin (1980: 70) concludes that "Proto-Dravidian, as a unit, has had two distinct independent innovations that are not shared by Brahui." Also, he concludes that "no single shared innovation remains in the proposed North Dravidian subgroup" (McAlpin 2003: 525), only shared retentions. Conversely, he finds that "Brahui and Elamite share a third person pronoun *i-* which Dravidian does not have" (McAlpin 1981: 115). Most recently (p.c. January 2015), he identifies three innovations not shared by Elamitic:(i) personal pronouns based on an old oblique form, with loss of the old nominative; (ii) creation of a new dative case from an old allative; and (iii) new regular deictics replacing third person pronouns. Therefore, he concludes that Brahui and Elamite both branch from an immediate Proto-Elamitic node, while Proto-Dravidian and Proto-Elamitic are sisters, both being branches of Proto-Zagrosian. One might say that Brahui is a "cousin" to Dravidian, rather than a part of it.

My purpose in introducing McAlpin's work to this audience is to stress the importance of rigorous historical linguistic research in arriving at conclusions about language relationships and history. This requires years of study and research on all the relevant languages. Members of the Brahui community can contribute right now to the work of this nature by documenting as much of the language as possible and possibly adding to the lexical data available on Brahui. And even more importantly, young Brahui scholars can themselves become students of historical linguistics.

1.2 Written and oral texts

The earliest known written texts of Brahui date from the early 19th century (e.g. Leech 1838, Trumpp 1880, Bux 1877, Mayer 1906, and Rai 1907), so the possibilities of recovering new information about the grammar of stages earlier than that appear slim. However, during the course of documenting private library holdings in Pakistan in the Private Library and Archival Survey Project (PLASP) sponsored by the American Institute of Pakistan Studies, it was learned that more than twenty private collections contain Brahui materials. The dates, titles, and contents of these written texts are, unfortunately, not yet available, but it seems likely that at least some of them are to be found in Balochistan. It is possible that these materials could turn out to be a valuable source of information on earlier stages of the language. Even if this turns out not to be the case, though, oral traditions can preserve yet older stages of the language contained in the formulaic language and idiomatic usages of traditional stories and poetry. Additionally, which is new information for me, some participants in this Conference have mentioned that Brahui manuscripts are to be found in some homes. If this turns out to be the case and such materials are located, an urgent task would be to digitize them and incorporate them into a Brahui language

archive. Speakers of Brahui are uniquely able to gain access to these materials documents and preserve this aspect of their heritage.

2. Documenting the present

In this paper, I offer my views on some things that could be done regarding research on and documentation of the Brahui language. What is meant by "documentation"? According to Himmelmann (1998: 166), "The aim of language documentation….is to provide a comprehensive record of the linguistic practices characteristic of a given speech community. Linguistic practices and traditions are manifest in two ways: (1) the observable *linguistic behavior,* manifest in everyday interaction between members of the speech community, and (2) the native speakers' *metalinguistic knowledge,* manifest in their ability to provide interpretations and systematizations for linguistic units and events." What is meant by *metalinguistic knowledge*? When recording the name of a certain animal husbandry or herding practice, for example, the encyclopedic knowledge that people have about the practice and the animals concerned (e.g. its history, lore regarding it, values associated with specific practices, former and present practices contrasted) should also be recorded. For more discussion of documentation practices, see Gippert, Himmelmann & Mosel (eds.) 2006. Some of these tasks of documentation could be initiated immediately; others are long-term projects, requiring the development of professional expertise and institutional infrastructure.

2.1 Projects possible immediately

Some projects which could be initiated even now, and which require no formal linguistic training include collection (audio recording, accompanied by video documentation if circumstances permit) of various types of oral culture and linguistic behavior, including, for example,

idioms, proverbs, folk stories, folk songs, nursery rhymes, rhymes accompanying children's games, riddles, descriptions of traditional games and festivals or fairs, life histories, genealogies and family traditions. Particularly urgent aspects of documentation include names of plant species, birds, insects, snakes and worms, landforms, cultural practices (tools and methods, processes of various handicrafts), kinship terminology —and dialectal variants of all of these. Many threatened languages are spoken in environments rich in biological diversity. When such languages die a great deal of knowledge of the environments in which their speakers live and have lived in the past can also be lost. This can include knowledge about local ecosystems which is not being known outside the region.

Such materials should be collected from as many dialect areas as possible. These will be the raw materials to be used by other researchers, hopefully by local linguists when a sufficient body of these has formed. The urgent task is to record the language material before it either vanishes or changes radically. Linguists are not the only people with an interest in language: good language documentation also serves the needs of sociolinguists, anthropologists, discourse analysts, historians, and the speakers of the language themselves.

If at all possible, the addition of more vocabulary items to the Brahui lexicon would be extremely valuable. Bray's (1934b) vocabulary has remained the standard since then, only a small list of words having been added to it in Elfenbein 1983.[3] Nevertheless, it seems possible that there may be other, as yet unrecorded, original words in the speech of rural Brahuis, particularly older people and women. An extremely valuable contribution to the line of historical research being worked on by McAlpin and other

3. Rossi 1979 is an extremely valuable study of Iranian lexical elements in Brahui.

historical linguists would be to collect more words (lexical items)— particularly those having to do with common practical work like herding, animal husbandry, traveling, cooking, sewing, childcare, agriculture, and landforms. Only members of the Brahui community have access to this valuable information. At the Conference, I was happy to learn that one of the conference participants is currently working on collecting words used by migratory rural Brahui speakers engaged in herding and animal husbandry. I hope that he is able to bring this work to publication successfully.

Another fairly straightforward task aimed at comparing the present state of the grammar with that recorded earlier would be to take grammars from past authors (e.g. Trumpp 1880/Duka 1886; Bux 1877; Bray 1907; Andronov 2001, 2003, 2006) and compare them point by point with the language of 2015, noting how today's usage is the same as or different from these records from the past. The dialectal difference(s) with respect to each point should be noted. This would be a suitable task for students in the Brahui Department at the University of Balochistan.

Let us assume that valuable documentation work has been done. Now, we must also be concerned about safeguarding the results of this documentation, the data. Unfortunately, it often happens that valuable notes and other materials lie in boxes in the homes of individual researchers or language enthusiasts, only to be eaten by insects or thrown out when the researcher dies. There may be such endangered materials in private homes throughout Balochistan. What is needed is to create a stable, safe archive of Brahui linguistic and cultural resources, which would include at least: vocabulary lists from various dialect areas; audio recordings of various dialects; audio recordings of folktales; any old texts or manuscripts recoverable; lists of key cultural terms; extra-

linguistic data (e.g. descriptions of cultural practices). This archive should be properly safeguarded. The idea of making data publicly, electronically available is new, and perhaps not yet fully accepted, but without replication, and preservation by redundancy, not even archived material is safe from unexpected natural or human-caused disasters. An electronic archive should be part of the overall project.

An important part of this archive should be the development of a Brahui corpus — a body of written and/or oral texts. Corpus development work is well underway for Urdu; see Urooj, Shams, Hussain & Adeeba 2014 for a description of the latest phases of this important work for the Urdu language, and http://www.cle.org.pk/clestore/index.htm for the corpora themselves.

Many linguists outside Pakistan are eager to do research on Brahui; however, they don't have access to the resources necessary to do this, including machine-readable text files (Perso-Arabic or Roman, Unicode-compatible) and direct contact with Brahui speakers. Collaboration with linguists on researching grammatical points of particular interest can be done whenever suitable contacts and communications can be arranged. For example, my work in the early 1990s with Abdul Razzaq Sabir resulted in, in addition to a comparative study of Brahui and Urdu, my 2010 paper on "Innovations in the Brahui Verb System", primarily focused on the negative conjugations and negative infinitives. That paper discussed developments that were new in the early 1990s. And I do not know what changes may have taken place since then, or what other new types of developments may be taking place. Currently, the best option for conducting fieldwork for those who cannot travel easily to Quetta is to do it electronically via email or services like Skype. There are many topics of great interest to linguists: for example, whether evidentially and mirativity distinctions are

expressed, and if so, how? So far, I have not yet been able to identify any forms or constructions which convey evidential or indirective meanings. However, it has seemed to me that "... correlation observed in available texts of the occurrence of the (new) present progressive forms with the complements of verbs of perception, mental activity or speech, suggests that these progressive forms may be associated with the "actual/witnessed" pole of (an emerging) system of expressing a range of epistemic senses ranging from directly witnessed to non-witnessed events (Bashir 2010b: 34)." This is, however, still a tentative hypothesis. Verification of such hypotheses requires collaboration with native speakers of the language and study of texts. Forming an interest group of Brahui speakers interested in collaborating on linguistic research and their contact information would be of great help to scholars wanting to work on Brahui.

2.2 Longer-range projects

Some longer-range projects require developing technical expertise in linguistics, possibly with corpus linguistics and computational linguistics as initial priorities. People with existing study and experience in computer science are good candidates to move into this field. Two important projects are (1) developing machine-readable Brahui texts (in either Perso-Arabic or Roman script, (2) building a corpus of Brahui texts. Fortunately, computational linguistics is the sub-field of linguistics that is best developed in Pakistan. The Center for Language Engineering at the University of Engineering and Technology in Lahore is currently the major center for such work.

The advancement of knowledge about Brahui, its historical development, and its involvement in various convergence phenomena in Balochistan requires a huge amount of work in documenting various dialects; collecting, transcribing and annotating texts to facilitate linguistic

analysis; and focused studies of specific syntactic differences, e.g. case marking systems with respect to differential object marking, agent marking, and split ergativity; and the presence or absence of compound verbs or analogous structures.

In addition, the study of the Indo-Aryan speech form Jaṭkī/ Jaḍgālī spoken in Balochistan would add extremely valuable information that could be used to enhance knowledge of the historical and comparative context in which Brahui exists. Emeneau (1964) stressed the importance of recording and study of Jaṭkī/Jaḍgālī, which he thinks, probably predates the arrival of Brahui in Balochistan and would be the source of early Indo-Aryan influence both on Brahui and on Balochi. Emeneau considers the lack of information about these Indo-Aryan dialects a significant gap in our knowledge. I am encouraged to have learned from several participants at the Conference that Jaḍgālī is indeed still spoken and that people in Brahui Department could be in a position to work on it. This would be a high priority project for Brahui students at the University of Balochistan.

At the level of semantics, one might wish for a parallel study of Brahui like that of Filippone (1996), a work within the framework of cognitive linguistics on the conceptual grounds underlying the locative expressions and spatial models in Balochi. Contact phenomena involving languages like Pashto and Urdu also need study, in addition to the relatively well-studied interactions between Brahui and Balochi. For instance, are there any noticeable influences of Brahui on the Urdu spoken in Balochistan?

3. Thinking about the future

The future of any language depends on the choices made by its speakers, either as a result of external pressures (government policies, general societal change, e.g.

modernization and globalization), influence of other major languages or for internal motivations (commitment to preserving cultural identity, aesthetic appeal of certain aspects of the language). What factors influence such choices? What choices will Brahui-speaking people make?

3.1 Devalorization of local languages

I will start by presenting the bleak side of the situation. Let us begin with a glance at a historical document reflecting colonial attitudes toward local languages which have persisted into present-day India and Pakistan. This is Thomas Babington Macaulay's 1835 "Minute upon Indian Education", in which he expressed scorn for the local languages of colonial India:

> All parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information and are, moreover, so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular among them.[4]

This same attitude can be seen in the arguments which prevailed (in the 1860s) regarding the establishment of an official language in Punjab, and which resulted in the selection of Urdu as the official language for Punjab: "Colonial officials argued that Punjabi was not a language, but rather a *patois,* that it had no literature, that it was crude and unsuited to official purposes, that it had no standard

4. (http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00generallinks/macaulay/txt_minute_education_1835.html)

form that could be instituted, that it had no uniform script, and that, ultimately, it was a dying language" (Mir 2002: 38).

This attitude is not confined to the colonial British; it persists even today and has ingrained itself into the mindset of speakers of some local languages themselves. For example, we see things like the following (Manan, David & Dumanig 2014: online p. 9): and hear comments like the following from students when asked about the use of mother tongues in school (Manan, David& Dumanig 2014: Appendix).

> Teachers should be forbidding the use of mother tongues in school; they should because mother tongue is only for home, not for everywhere. It is suitable only for informal atmosphere, not formal like school (Punjabi-speaking student).
> No, mother tongue should not be in school because all of us can speak in Balochi language. No, because in school there are some Pashtoons, some are Punjabis and some speak other languages. It will be a problem (Balochi-speaking student).

This situation is not limited to languages spoken in Balochistan. Perhaps the worst affected Pakistani language in this regard is Punjabi. The inferiority complex felt by urban Punjabi speakers is well known and has been commented on by many writers, most notably Tariq Rahman (e.g. 2004, 2006). Recently, the following article appeared (Anonymous, *Express Tribune*, 9 Nov. 2014):

> Due to the institutionalized bias towards English and Urdu, the Punjabi language and its associated culture and art remain a marker of the working class, shunned by the upwardly mobile middle class and the elite," wrote Sara Kazmi in her paper presented on the second day

of the Trust for History Arts and Architecture Pakistan conference here on Saturday.

The same phenomenon is discussed by Asif (2005) for Saraiki. If Brahui is to avoid this fate, the educated people and the elite need to make a concerted effort to use the language in the public arena, as well as in the home. At the same time, and perhaps most importantly, they need to make sure that the home environment remains a Brahui-speaking environment.

3.2 Language as a valued identity marker

Some languages in Pakistan, however, seem relatively resistant to this devalorization. Rahman (2003: 15) contrasts the situation of Pashto and Sindhi with that of Punjabi: "In the N.W.F.P and Sindh, however, Pashto and Sindhi are seen as identity markers and are spoken informally." Additionally, Sindhi has been used as a medium of education and official language in Sindh, as well as having a well-known and respected written literature. Another factor which may play a role in maintenance is the degree of similarity or difference of linguistic structure between the two languages. The structure of Pashto is more different from that of Urdu than is that of Punjabi, for example. Since Brahui is structurally very different from the languages immediately surrounding it, and from Urdu, this is one factor which may help Brahui maintain itself. Recall the British colonialist opinions that Punjabi was not a real language, but merely a corrupted dialect of Urdu. In the case of Pashto, or Brahui, making such arguments is not possible.

For Brahui, linguistic vitality will largely depend on the extent to which the Brahui language is valued by its own speakers and seen as central to maintaining cultural identity. What elements of Brahui identity are felt to be central by members of the community? How central is the

language to the Brahui sense of identity? Is script an identity marker? The choice of a particular letter for a certain sound? For example, several languages of northwest Pakistan have a retroflex voiceless sibilant [IPA ʂ] [Roman ṣ], but different language communities have chosen to write it differently. Kohistani Shina uses the basic shape for س with two short horizontal lines above it (no Unicode code yet); Khowar uses ۺ (U+0770); Burushaski uses ښ (U+077D); Torwali ښ (U+075C), Kalasha uses ش with a small ط diacritic above it (no Unicode code yet), and Gowri uses ش (U+076D).

Even while understanding and appreciating the importance of language as a marker of cultural identity, we must reluctantly acknowledge that: "In many South Asian countries it is observed that the will to disassociate from the indigenous language is stronger than the will to use it as an identity marker" (Abbi 2008: 174). That is, instrumental (socio-economic progress, status, power) considerations have been observed to trump non-instrumental (cultural identity, self-confidence, aesthetic enjoyment, love) values associated with using a particular language. For Brahui speakers, which will be stronger? Will considerations of "love", the emotion often expressed as felt for dominated languages, be able to compete with the "respect" felt for languages of power? Can a balanced position be attained?

3.3 Written culture and oral culture

Brahui exists in a culture evolving from being primarily oral to becoming literate and literary. The value of literacy and its necessity for linguistic survival in today's world are obvious and undeniable. But it is also important to identify what the speaker community values about its oral culture. For instance, to what extent is the ability to recite orally valued for Brahui? Issues such as this need to be clarified in order to formulate what the community wants or needs to do. Language is always changing, inevitably. Today's

Brahui is not yesterday's Brahui or tomorrow's Brahui. But successive generations of speakers continue to feel an attachment to their language. Are there any particular aspects of the language which remain constant and inspire loyalty? What functions are or should be exclusively oral? What functions are exclusively written? What functions are both? Is there a written-oral diglossia?

An example of how oral tradition and language structures embedded in it — for example, the use of a particular word or grammatical particle — can relate to cultural maintenance comes from research on the Kalasha community in Chitral. The anthropologist Di Carlo in a 2010 paper entitled "Take care of the poets" explains how ritual and verbal art performances play a central role in the maintenance of the language and culture of that community. He finds that in ordinary discourse "the marker *ta* occurs [only] on noun phrases whose accessibility to the hearers is beyond question.

In poetry, by contrast, we have seen that almost 40 percent of the personal names marked by *ta* have been treated as if they were permanent files in the hearers' memory. [...] By introducing them in discourse immediately as definite topics, the singers show that they believe the names of some men and the stories related to them are deeply rooted in the shared knowledge of the audience, that is, that they are permanent files in the collective memory" (p. 152). That is, the annual recitation of these poems, with the frequent use of the particle *ta,* helps fix and maintain this cultural memory in the minds of the hearers. Di Carlo concludes (p. 153): "On the basis of what we have seen, thereafter, we might now conclude that Kalashamon will be spoken as long as there are enough poets singing the names and the remarkable deeds of their ancestors during their millennia-old rituals. So, let us take care of the poets!"

Keeping this in mind, we should consider that if there

are particular rituals (texts, songs, poems) associated with major life-cycle events (birth, marriage, death) in Brahui culture, these may contain unique words or turns of phrase that might play a role similar to that described for Kalasha by Di Carlo.

One area in which the boundary between the oral and the written blurs is the Internet and electronic social media, where the medium is written, but the tone is informal and oral. I came to this conference with the following questions in mind. "To what extent are the Internet and other social media used by Brahui speakers? If they are used, which language is used? Do people write messages in Brahui (as opposed to Urdu or English)? Which script is it written in?" It is well known, for example, that many young people send text messages in Urdu written in Roman script. I have learned during the Conference that this is also the case for Brahui and that more Brahui-language messages tend to be written in the Roman script than in Perso-Arabic. This has become an object of recent research for languages like Urdu, for example.

3.4 Language ecology

Language ecology is "the study of interactions between any given language and its environment. [...] The true environment of a language is the society that uses it as one of its codes" (Haugen 1972: 325). The concept of ecology applied to multilingual situations stresses that, like biological species, different languages perform complementary functions, occupy specific niches, and interact with one another. Many factors interact in the ecology of a language. They include: the number and concentration of speakers; geographical extent of the language; rural-urban setting; socioeconomic status of its speakers; degree and type of language transmission; previous or current maintenance or revival efforts; degree of language standardization; nature

of in- and out-migration; language attitudes of speakers; aspects of the language-identity relationship; attitudes of the majority group toward the minority; history and background of the group; history of the language; history of the area in which the language community now lives; rights and cultural/legal recognition of its speakers; official recognition of the language; degree of autonomy or "special status" of the area; speakers' attitudes and involvement regarding education; existence and type of school support for language; state of education in the language area; economic health of the speaker group; association between language and economic success and upward mobility; economic health of the region; media representation of the language community; media representation of the language; public awareness of the area; and the newly-defined concept "linguistic landscape". In order to understand and preserve a biological or a linguistic species, one must maintain or create an environment in which it can thrive.

3.5 Linguistic landscapes

The concept of "linguistic landscape" is a newly emerging way of thinking about some aspects of language ecology. A foundational statement by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) defines the concept and its importance:

> The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration. The linguistic landscape of a territory can serve two basic functions: an informational function and a symbolic function.
>
> For example, the language on signs can tell the

viewer that the language used on the sign can be used to communicate with the business or office where the sign is found. It also makes a statement that the writer of the sign values the language he has used. In Pakistan, most signboards are in Urdu or English. However, there are some rare exceptions. In Baltistan, for example, it is claimed that "one can see many signboards on shops and offices in Tibetan script, a project started ... in the year 2000.[5]

How does the Brahui figure in the "linguistic landscape" of urban Balochistan? Establishing a Brahui presence in the linguistic landscape would be one way to increase its domains of use in the language ecology of the region. I don't know how many or what kind of signs appear in Brahui or Balochi in Quetta. One of the Conference participants, Mr. Ustad Murad Brahui, has printed a business card for his "Brahui Cushion Maker" business with some text in Brahui on it. This is also an aspect of the linguistic landscape. This would be a good research topic for scholars resident in Quetta or other cities, for that matter.

Another type of publicly accessible space where language is displayed is that of privately owned trucks and other vehicles. In these spaces owners or drivers can create their own visual and linguistic landscapes and express thoughts of their choosing. Elias 2011 is a study of the artwork and texts found on Pakistani trucks. Along with various types of images, verses are often encountered, usually either religious or romantic. Most of these are in Urdu, but occasionally Pashto or Punjabi verses are found (Elias 2011: 96). Here is one example of a Pashto verse found on a truck from Rawalpindi in 2001 (Elias 2011: 213):

منزل د ټولو یو دئ
خو سفر جدا جدا
manzil da ṭolo yo de

5. https://baltistaan.wordpress.com/category/history/.

xo safar judā judā
'Everyone has the same end,
Even if we all travel alone.'

Short texts in various languages are also found on rickshaws. For example, the Punjabi message خیر نال جا ۔ خیر نال آ 'go safely and come (back) safely' is frequently seen on trucks and rickshaws in Punjab.

3.6 Education and the lingua franca

The reality of Pakistan today is that Urdu has become established as an effectively functioning lingua franca (link language) for the country. Does this necessarily mean that all local languages are doomed to wither and die? Is "linguistic cleansing" inevitable? Van Parijs (2008: 22) thinks so: "Reduced linguistic diversity so understood[6] is a direct and unavoidable consequence of the spreading of a lingua franca." However, while acknowledging this, he argues that: "territorial linguistic diversity will nonetheless need preserving as the by-product of a concern for the equal dignity of the identities closely associated with native languages" (Van Parijs 2008: 17).

At present, Brahui is listed as one of the "vulnerable" languages.[7] Vulnerable languages are defined as follows: "Most, but not all, children or families of a particular community speak their parental language as their first language, but this may be restricted to specific social domains (such as the home, where children interact with their parents and grandparents) (UNESCO 2010a: 11–12). In general, there is still time to carry out many important activities to strengthen vulnerable languages. One task for

6. The phrase "so understood" means: "The more languages two people have in common, and the better they know these languages, the smaller the linguistic distance between them. And the smaller this distance, on average, between members of a population taken two by two, the less diverse the population" (Van Parijs (2008: 21).
7. (http://www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/index.php)

members of vulnerable language communities is to increase the number of domains in which the language is used (e.g. school, offices, and written media).

The most difficult of these domains to tackle is education. An attempt in 1990 to introduce Brahui, Balochi, and Pashto as a medium of instruction in government schools in Balochistan was short-lived, partly because parents themselves expressed a preference for Urdu as a medium of instruction, fearing that instruction in a local language would have a "ghettoizing" effect. In spite of the fact that most educationists and educational psychologists agree that children learn best when taught in their mother tongue (e.g. Bühmann & Trudell 2008, UNESCO 2010b), it seems unlikely that, at least in the short term, widespread and sustainable support will be found in Pakistan for mother-tongue education. Nevertheless, even if the local languages cannot find support as a medium of education, it seems quite feasible that they are taught as required subjects, thus ensuring that children develop basic literacy in them.

One problem that needs to be addressed for this to happen is how to standardize the language for schooling purposes: which dialect base to draw from, and the orthography to use. And, of course, for all this to take place, sustained government support is necessary. I am sure these are topics of much concern and discussion among the people present at this conference.

3.7 An instructive example for threatened languages: The case of Gullah

The survival of the Gullah language offers an instructive example for threatened minority languages. Gullah is a variety of African-American English spoken by about 60,000 people in the coastal regions of South Carolina and Georgia in the U.S. Since it is a minority language highly stigmatized by non-members of the community, its

extinction had been predicted since the end of the nineteenth century. Instead, it is still alive, probably with as much vitality as it had in its beginnings. Mufwene (2001: 204) analyzing the reasons for its survival, concludes that strong group identity, residential segregation, and rootedness in the original territory of the language, as well as the adoption of a strategy of *alternating between two or more systems* [emphasis mine], have enabled the language to survive. Note Mufwene's stress on *alternating* between two or more systems — not *mixing* them. This is consistent with the conclusions of Pandharipande (2002) on the importance of FUNCTIONAL TRANSPARENCY.

3.8 Functional load and functional transparency

The concept of the FUNCTIONAL LOAD is useful for assessing the status and prospects of minority languages in multilingual situations like Pakistan and India (Pandharipande 2002). The more functions the language is used for, the higher its functional load, and the more likely it is to be maintained. The functional load of a language is determined by two ranked parameters: (1) "functional transparency", an idea similar to the domain separation stressed by Mufwene (2001) in the case of Gullah (see 3.7above), and (2) the number of domains in which the language is used (e.g. home, school, local business, national business, local administration, provincial administration). Pandharipande explains functional transparency as follows (2002: 18): "[...] if a language A is the only language used to perform a particular function in a particular domain, then language A can be said to have functional transparency vis-à-vis that function." Note that functional transparency *outranks* a number of domains.

1.	+ functional transparency	+ number of domains	High functional load
2.	+ functional transparency	– number of domains	
3.	– functional transparency	+ number of domains	
4.	– functional transparency	– number of domains	Low functional load

Other things being equal, a language with higher functional transparency has a higher functional load than one with a lower functional transparency. This results in a ranking of situations from 1 (highest) to 4 (lowest) with respect to how likely they are to predict language maintenance (Pandharipande 2002: 20).

How does the Brahui rate according to these criteria? If Brahui speakers can maintain functional transparency in the home domain (i.e. speak only Brahui at home), the chances for its continued vitality seem good. Otherwise,.?

3.9 Information technology and linguistics

Brahui began to be written in the 19th century, but literary production received impetus in Quetta after independence (Elfenbein 1983: 107). Now, since the 1960s it is written with the same Perso-Arabic symbol set as Balochi, but with the addition of ڶ (U 06B7) ڵ (with three dots above) to represent the voiceless lateral fricative [ɬ] (Balochistan Textbook Board 1991). I understand that more recent work has been done on orthography development and standardization, which I hope to learn more about.

However, in the 21st century, more than literacy, i.e. the ability to read and write is required. Computational resources need to be developed so that LOCALIZATION work, understood as the process of *enabling all aspects of* computing *by users of local languages*, which may have varying linguistic structures and employ differing scripts, can be done for all languages of Pakistan. Initial prerequisites for such work are full language descriptions and analysis of the language concerned and then the development of fonts and keyboard layouts. I understand that much has already been done in font and keyboard development for Brahui, and look forward to hearing more about these developments. According to the Center for Language Engineering, at the University of Engineering and Technology in Lahore, the smaller languages grouped

together as "other", of which Brahui is one, have minimal support in the standards and linguistic resources necessary for the development of human language technology (Hussain 2013). As far as I know, no computational linguistics work has yet been done on Brahui. For a discussion of localization work done under the Pan-Asian Networking (PAN) Localization project in Pakistan and some other South Asian countries see Shams & Hussain 2011.

An urgent need of all the language communities in Pakistan is the development of a sustainable critical mass of Pakistani linguists, who, being native speakers of their respective languages will be able to advance both the documentation and analysis of their languages and also contribute to theoretical developments in the field of linguistics. As scientists, such linguists will be able to deal with issues of language and grammar from an objective point of view. Towards this end, the ideal scenario is the establishment of departments of linguistics in various universities in Pakistan. Until that time, however, aspiring linguists can find courses on various aspects of linguistics in some universities in Pakistan, usually in departments of English; also, at the Center for Language Engineering in Lahore, specific instruction in various aspects of general and computational linguistics is offered. Also, an increasing amount of information is available on the Internet, so that an interested and motivated person with access to a computer can be, to a significant extent, self-taught.

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2

Linguistic and Cultural Study of Brahui Language

Dr. G. A. Allana

Linguistic and cultural plurality in Pakistan

The Indus Valley Civilization represented by the findings at Mehrgarh, Amri, Kot Diji, Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa, is a virtual treasure not only for the archaeologists but also for the scholars who are interested in the study of history, culture, linguistics, and anthropology of this valley.

From the perusal of long history and culture of Indus Valley Civilization, and the influence of various cultures on local culture of various regions of Indus Valley, it is evident that every region of this valley has played a very important role in its history and culture (Allana, G.A., Dr., 2003: 24).

It is a fact that every nation is known by its culture. For instance, the French, the English, the Japanese and the Chinese are identified by their particular culture. Same is the case with Pakistanis when they are outside Pakistan in a foreign country. But the question arises what is Pakistani culture? What are our national (Pakistani) cultural characteristics? Are our habits common in all the provinces? Are our modes of living alike everywhere in all the regions of Pakistan? Do we follow the same customs and traditions everywhere in every region in the whole country? Do we speak the same language everywhere in Pakistan? Do we use common colors, motifs, and designs in our dresses and costumes in Sindh, Punjab, Balochistan, Khyber– Pakhtunkhwa provinces, and also in Gilgit –

Baltistan, and FATA? The reply to all these questions is 'No'. (Jamil Jalibi, Dr., 1984: 45, 46 &51)

In Pakistan, men and women vary in their temperament, in their likes and dislikes, and also in their vision. Such differences also cut across the provincial boundaries. A Pathan is not in habits and in a vision like a Punjabi or a Sindhi, and similarly, a Punjabi does not resemble to a Sindhi or to a Balochi or to a Brahui in his habits and in vision.

Thus there are varieties of cultures in different provinces and their different regions in Pakistan. The people of all the four provinces and their various regions in Pakistan are also different in their languages, in their modes of living, and in their tastes, as a consequence of their geographical environment. Even the forces of the Federation have not been successful to keep them near to each other so that the variety of their cultures and languages might have looked like a thought with multifarious colors (Allana, G.A., Dr., 2010: Introduction).

Pakistan is a multilingual and multicultural country as stated already. It has been the abode of people belonging to different social ethnic groups. Each group can be called in sociological terms as nationality. They speak different languages and follow different customs and traditions, and have their own cultural heritage. Thus there are diversities of cultures and languages in different provinces and regions of Pakistan (Allana, G. A. Dr., 2003: 24).

In order to study the culture of any nation or nationality, one should study its language because a language plays a very important role in expression and dissemination of any culture. Language affects literature, and its literature affects the life of a nation. Language is a primary vehicle of communication, thoughts, and feelings of people (Allana, G. A., Dr., 2003: 24).

Brahui is one of the living languages of Pakistan

The major languages of Pakistan such as Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto, Balochi, Brahui, Saraiki, Shina, Hindko, Dardi, Potohari, Dhani, Balti, Burushaski, Khowar, Wakhi, Bashgali and Torwali etc. are full-fledged living languages and have the widest range, and also claim a certain all-Pakistan character. All these languages have actually been recognized as Pakistani languages, and they are used as a mother – tongues in various regions of Pakistan. All these mother-tongues are capable of providing a means of expression of all human feelings and emotions of the regions where they are spoken by the people. All these languages are full-fledged living languages. They should not be considered as dialects of some major languages as some ignorant bureaucrats feel about them. They are actually ancient languages with their rich literary and cultural inheritance. Each one of these languages is spoken by millions of people in various regions of Pakistan. Each language is tied up inextricably with life, culture, and ideas of the masses in various regions of Pakistan. It is axiomatic that the masses can grow educationally and culturally only through the medium of their mother – tongues. Therefore, it is inevitable that we lay stress on the mother- tongues, and carry on most of our work through them. The use of any other language will result in isolating the educated people from the masses. All these languages have developed literary traditions, bearing very rich literature in their standard, modern, progressive, and folk literary forms.

All these Pakistani languages never depend upon any other language but they are used in their everyday life and for any moment for the social and cultural communication by their speakers. If these living mother- tongues of every region and of every area of Pakistan are allowed to be used, at least for educational purposes, they will be able to be learnt more easily and more quickly rather than any other language which is not their mother- tongue, and which is in

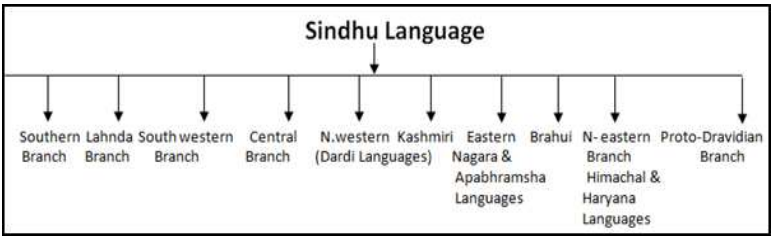
real sense foreign to them. Keeping in view the points discussed above with regard to the status of Pakistani languages, it can also be said that Brahui is also a full-fledged living language of Pakistan. It is commonly spoken as mother- tongue in the former state of Kalat and its surrounding areas, and also in upper Sindh by the Brahui nation. Studies have revealed that this language is rich in various forms of its classical, modern, progressive and folk literature. The writers of this language have developed their mother tongue without any financial assistance from their provincial a well as by the Federal government of Pakistan.

Similarly, the Brahui culture, in spite of its special peculiarities, varieties, and qualities, has not been encouraged by any government organization. The style of the daily living of Brahui people with their colorful dresses and costumes decorated with various motifs, designs and patterns, their arts and crafts, their expertise in the Art of lacquer work, variety in the art of embroidery, their music and folk dance, and most of all the art of carving on wood and stone need to be introduced worldwide. These patterns of their art have invited the attention of the scholars, particularly of the anthropologists internationally.

Origin and ancestry of Brahui language

Modern research reports have revealed that the scholars interested in the field of historical linguistics have expressed their different opinions about the origin and ancestry of Brahui language (Javed Akhtar, 2008: 151-158). It has been agreed by almost every scholar, particularly by the archaeologists that the Indus Valley Civilization is pre-Vedic and Non- Aryan Civilization. This civilization was in full bloom when the Rig Veda was composed by the Aryans by about 1000 BC on the bank of river Indus (Hiremath, R.C., 1984: 211). This civilization was called by the local population as 'Sindhu Sabhyata' (Indus Civilization),

and the original and indigenous language commonly spoken by the Indus valley people was called 'Sindhu language'. The Sindhu language was divided among various branches, and each branch of the Sindhu language was being spoken by the people of the region where they lived. This viewpoint has been discussed in detail in the book 'Origin and growth of Sindhi language' (Allana, G. A.., Dr., 2002: 301). It has also been stated in the said book that Sindhi, one of the branches of the ancient 'Sindhu' language, was being spoken in the southern region of Indus valley, and also the 'Central 'branch of the Sindhu language which was being spoken by the people of Central region (present East and West Punjab) during pre-Mughal Punjab, the various dialects of present Punjabi and Lahndi languages, such as : Riyasati (Saraiki), Multani, Derajati,Hindko, Potohari, Shahpuri, Dhani and Awanki etc. are also spoken by the people of this ancient region. Similarly, the languages of Kashmir, Dardistan and also the Brahui language including the languages of Rajasthan (Mewari, Marwari, Jesalmeri and Purbi) and also the languages such as Gujarati, Khandeshi, Kutchi, and Kathiyawari, and the languages of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh states of India, and the Dravidian languages of South India are the branches of the ancient and indigenous 'Sindhu language' of Indus Valley civilization (Allana, G.A., Dr., 2002: 301).



Dr. Colin P. Masica, a well-known scholar of Indo-Aryan linguistics disagreed with the theory of Dr. Earnest Trumpp and also of Sir Grierson with regard to the origin

and ancestry of Sindhi and other languages of Indus valley. From amongst the Sindhi scholars of Sindh and India, such as Dr.N.A Baloch, Sirajul Haque Memon, Dr. Parso Gidwani and Shri Jairamdas Daulatram (Sindhi Scholars from India) also disagreed with Dr. Trumpp and Sir Grierson. All those scholars who have disagreed with Dr. Trumpp and Sir Grierson were of the opinion that all the native regional languages of Indus valley are pre-Aryan and indigenous languages, and all these languages are the offshoots of the original, indigenous and ancient 'Sindhu language' of Indus Valley Civilization.

The tree-diagram, given on the next page of this paper (which is drawn by the author of this paper with the help of the theory proposed by Dr. Collin P. Masica) throws the light on various branches of 'Sindhu', the ancient and indigenous language of Indus Valley.

Thus from the perusal of the tree-diagram given below, it can be concluded that Sindhi, Punjabi, Lahndi, Brahui, Saraiki, Hindko, Kashmiri, Rajasthani, Gujarati and Proto- Dravidian languages are the branches of the said ancient Sindhu, the indigenous and an original language, and all these languages were spoken by the people in the Indus valley much before the arrival of the Aryans in the Indus valley:

It is worth noting that the grammarians of the Prakrit languages, having studied thoroughly the characteristics of the vernaculars of the subcontinent, have divided the word stock of the local languages into four groups viz: 'Tatsama, Tadbhava, Deshya, and Videshya' (Bherumal Adwani, 1956: 176 & 177). The stock of the Deshya words has drawn the attention of the scholars of the sub-continent in general and those of Sindh in particular for the reasons that most of the 'Deshya words' have survived from the remaining stock of the words which has been commonly spoken by the people of the Indus valley (Allana, G. A., Dr., 2002: 142). With regard to the Deshya words, Sir Grierson states:

> Another class of words is also to be mentioned- the so-called 'Deshya or local' words of the Indian grammarians. It includes all words which the grammarians were able to refer to classical Sanskrit as their origin. Many such words were included in this group simply through the ignorance of the writers who cataloged them. Modern scholars can refer most of these to Sanskrit like any other Tadbhava. A few others are the words borrowed from Munda and Dravidian. (Grierson, G., 1927: 127).

Having studied the peculiarity of the Deshya words, Dr. Trumpp had to reconsider/change his first opinion (that Sindhi is derived from Sanskrit) when he (Dr. Trumpp) compared the stock of the Deshya words with those of Sanskrit, he had to revise his first opinion, and he said:

> We shall on the other hand, be able to trace out a certain residuum of vocables which we must allot or extent to an old aboriginal language of which neither name nor extent is now known to us, but which, in all probability was the Tatar stock of languages and spread throughout the length and breadth of India before the eruption of the Aryan race, as all other vernaculars contain similar non- Aryan residuum of words, which have been, already designated as' provincial' by the old Prakrit grammarians." (Trumpp, E., Dr., 1872: Introduction P. iii)

Professor Javed Akhtar, a well-known scholar of Brahui language has quoted certain examples of linguistic similarity between Sindhi, Saraiki and Brahui languages in his book. He has also given some examples of the common vocabulary of Sindhi, Saraiki, and Brahui in his same book (Javed Akhtar, 2008:151 & 158). Professor Javed Akhtar has also given some examples of phonetical, phonological,

morphological and syntactical similarity between Sindhi, Saraiki and Brahui languages in his same book.

The case of Brahui language and culture may be studied in the perspective of the tree diagram drawn above in this paper and also in the book, 'Sindhi Society and culture'. It is a fact that Brahui is a very rich and a living language. Its classical, modern, progressive and folk literature has a variety of literary forms. The contemporary literature of this language depicts a vivid picture of Brahui culture and Brahui society. It has been a very successful vehicle of communication for Brahui nation everywhere. But as said earlier it needs a lot of encouragement and financial support both by the Provincial as well as by Federal government for its development and use as a medium of instruction in educational institutions in the region where it is spoken as a mother- tongue.

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3

Dravidian and Altaic Relations as Documented from Brahui

Prof. Jaroslav Vacek

Summary

The paper sums up twenty-five selected etyma with Dravidian and Altaic lexical parallels containing Brahui and/or North Dravidian basic vocabulary lexemes, besides a few examples from other Dravidian languages belonging to the etyma. It is done in the context of the author's previous work on the subject. The Brahui lexemes are not represented in all the Dravidian etyma in the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary (DEDR), but they show a significant closeness to the Altaic lexemes. Some Dravidian etyma contain only North Dravidian lexemes and some of these have also parallels in Altaic. Therefore, it is important to investigate the subject systematically and in detail. The general character of the parallels suggests that they are a result of an early language contact and that Dravidian has preserved two layers.

Introduction

The relation of Dravidian to other language families has been occasionally discussed since the appearance of Caldwell's comparative grammar in 1856. There had been various proposals some of which he also mentioned (Caldwell 1913, pp. 565ff., Glossarial affinities). The formal and semantic similarity of the Dravidian lexical stock is perhaps most conspicuous in comparison with the Altaic

and Uralian languages,[1] though no agreement has been reached so far.[2] Taking Brahui into the focus in this context may be interesting from various points of view.

The position of Brahui within Dravidian and its lexical stock is an interesting question, which has been discussed from various points of view. Relatively recently Sujit Kumar Acharya (2008) raised the question of the original Indian home of the Brahuis and on the basis of toponymic evidence he proposed that the previous dwelling place of the Brahuis in India must have been the region of Kalinga. On the other hand, considering the parallels with Uralian and Altaic, for some scholars the Brahui language represents a remainder of the presumed Dravidian migration from Central Asia in pre-Harappan times (see Notes 1 and 2 above). We cannot discuss this question here, it would require much space, let us just remark that the presumed early date of immigration to India is not persuasive for some purely linguistic reasons

1. Already Caldwell (1913, pp. 610, in his terms 'Scythian affinities') mentioned the Uralian, Manchu-Tungus and/or Mongolian parallels with some of the items listed below, viz. Nos. 4 (Ta. *talai*), 5 (Ta. *kāl*), 6 (Ta. *kal*), 14 (Ta. *muṉ*), 17 (Ta. *cey*). He did not mention the Brahui examples, though he was aware that 'Brahuî contains a Dravidian element' (pp. XVI) and that it 'contains not only some Dravidian words, but a considerable infusion of distinctively Dravidian forms and idioms', however less than the other Dravidian languages (p. 39). But at the same time the presence of Brahui in the North-West was the reason for him to presume the Central Asian origin of the Dravidians (p. 40).
2. For a survey of the different views cf. Zvelebil 1991. As for the Uralian languages cf. especially Andronov 1961, Burrow 1968, Tyler 1968. Altaic was discussed more recently e.g. by Menges 1977. My work on the topic started around 1975, when I was learning Mongolian in Mongolia and was stumbling on many words similar with Tamil and Dravidian, while the similarity was too close to be a mere coincidence. Later I started to compare the various etyma also with the other branches of Altaic, viz. Turkic and Manchu-Tungus. More recently Dravidian has been compared with Mongolian by Uma Maheshwar Rao (2000, 2005, 2012, 2014).

(see the Conclusion below).

In the course of the last almost forty years I have collected several hundred lexical nests mainly on the basis of the DEDR and the various available dictionaries of the three main Altaic branches (Mongolian, Turkic, and Manchu -Tungus).[3] Since the Brahui lexicon is much influenced by the neighboring languages, it does not provide a great number of lexemes as compared with some other Dravidian languages, especially the literary languages with a long history. This also applies to the other two North Dravidian languages i.e. Kurukh and Malto (as well as some other tribal languages). However, in North Dravidian, there are occasionally lexemes, which are not preserved in the other Dravidian languages and which are very close to Altaic (e.g. "to be"; No. 16 below). But North Dravidian languages are not represented equally and the other two languages have preserved more Dravidian words than Brahui.[4] In the following, I have selected twenty-five examples mainly from the basic lexical stock, which have mostly also been preserved in Brahui.[5]

Concerning the method and criteria of identifying the parallel items in the individual branches of Dravidian on the one hand and Altaic on the other, this was discussed repeatedly in my previous papers (cf. e.g. Vacek 2004b /2006, 2007c, 2009 with further references). To sum up, besides the lexical parallels, there appear to be a few morphological parallels in the derivational shift of the

3. For lack of space we cannot discuss here the question of the Altaic unity, which is doubted by some scholars (e.g. Clauson). My earlier papers on the topic are listed e.g. in Vacek 2009; a list of the more recent papers can be found in Vacek 2013.
4. Cf. the extent of the Indexes in the DEDR: Kurukh – pp. 746–751; Malto – pp. 751–856; Brahui – pp. 756–758 (in fact not full two pages).
5. Except Nos. 4, 10 and 16, but these lexemes are preserved in North Dravidian and the etyma are significant examples of the basic lexical stock. Most of the following examples were mentioned in my earlier papers, only a few are presented for the first time.

verbs (ancient verbal nouns). As for the parts of speech, mostly nouns and verbs from the basic vocabulary (also some abstract nouns) are represented. No numerals or pronouns could be identified. As for the phonological correspondences, some appear to be straightforward and regular, but there are many variations and also irregularities. In Dravidian, there are a great number of synonyms some of which have parallels in Altaic, some not. Considering all these facts (variation, irregularities, 'lacunae'), I have proposed that the linguistic situation in Dravidian may best be explained on the basis of an early contact of languages in terms of 'two layers in Dravidian' (see the Conclusion below and also Vacek 2009).

Select Examples

1. Br. *arē (pl. arisk)* male individual, person, husband (listed with a question mark s.v. Ta. *ēṟu* bull, male of certain animals; DEDR 917)
   Cf.
   Ta. *āḷ* man, husband (plus Ma., Ka. etc.)
   Kur. *āl* adult male, husband
   ālas: an adult male person, husband (DEDR 399)

   ***

   Mo. *er-e* man, male
   MT. *ILE* I man, human being, husband (Evenk. MTD I, 311)
   OT. *el, il* people (MTD I,311); tribal alliance; tribal organisation; people (OTD s.v.); Clauson (s.v. *é:l*, p. 121) maintains that "the basic, original meaning was 'a political unit organized and ruled by an independent ruler'; the most convenient short-term in English is 'realm'." [6]

6. Could this be a further semantic development, which can also be compared with DEDR 5157: Ta. *(y) āḷ* to rule, reign over; Te. *ēlu, ēḷu* to rule, govern; etc.? This parallel was mentioned in Vacek 2009, Note 4.

2. Br. *Māmā* maternal uncle
Ta. māmaṉ mother's brother
etc. (DEDR 4813)

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MT. *MĀMA* father, old man (addressing respectable old persons; also women) (6 MT. languages; MTD I, 525)

3. Br. *mār* son, boy, lad
Ta. maṟi young of sheep, horse, deer, etc., female of sheep, horse, deer, etc., sheep, deer
Te. *maṟaka* kid
Koṇḍa *maṟin* son etc. (DEDR 4764)

***

Mo. *Balcir* infant, baby, suckling, newborn young; inexperienced
MT. *BALAƊGA* the young of the seal (MTD I, 69)
OT. bala originally 'a young bird, nestling', by extension 'the young of an animal', in modern times even 'a human child' (Cl. 332; also MTD I,69)
baldir 1 'step-son' or 'foster-child'(?) (Cl. 333) [7]

3. Malt. *tali* hair of the head
Ta. *talai* head, top, end, tip, hair
Ma. *tala* head, top, point, extremity
talakkam, *talappu* top of the tree
Koḍ. *tale* end
talami hair of head or body
Tu. tarè head, top, hair of head etc. (DEDR 3103)

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Mo. toluɣai head; top, tip, hillock
terigün head (anat., honorif., and fig.); chief; beginning; first, chief, foremost

7. For the alternation of the initial stop/nasal cf. Note 27 below and examples Nos. 12, 25.

MTD. *DIL* head, skull (8 MT. languages; MTD I,205–6)
DULKUMI crown of the head (Nan.) (MTD I, 223)
OT. tuluŋ the temples (anatomical); hence 'the hair of the temples', and later more generally 'a lock of hair' (Cl. 501)[8]

3. *Br. trikkal* tripod of three sticks on which tent is hung[9]
Ta. *Kāl* leg, foot, base (of the tree), quarter, family, relationship
Ma. *kāl* leg, foot, stem, pillar, quarter
Ko. *ka·l* leg, foot, base (of the tree), quarter
To. *ko·l* leg, foot, quarter, family, progeny
etc. (DEDR 1479)

***

Mo. *köl* a. foot, leg; b. something resembling or functioning as a leg or foot; foot, leg, base, stand, the lower part of an object, etc.[10]

6. Br. *xal* stone
Ta. *kal* stone, pebble, boulder, precious stone etc. (DEDR 1298)

***

Mo. *Xada (n)* rock, cliff, crag[11]

8. For more details cf. Vacek 2010, No. 1; also Caldwell 1913, p. 620; Vacek repeatedly since 1981.
9. The DEDR mentions the Brahui word with a question-mark. If it is accepted, it is a combination of an IA (*tri-* 'three') and Dravidian (*kal*) lexeme.
10. For more details cf. Vacek 2010, No. 3; also Caldwell 1913, p. 617; Vacek repeatedly since 1981.
11. This parallel without the following Manchu-Tungus and Yakut forms was mentioned in Vacek 1987. As for the stop/liquid variation, it is found in a number of other etyma below. Further cf. Ta. *maram* tree, wood, timber (DEDR 4711a); Mo. *modu(n)* tree, woods, forest (this parallel is also mentioned by Caldwell 1913, p. 622). This may be a broader phenomenon of (sometimes free) variation of dentals and liquids: *d/t vs. r/l,* in some cases involving also the cerebrals, both stops and liquids.

MT. *KADAR* rock (MTD I, 360)
Yak. *xadaγa, xadar, xadār* rock (9 MT. languages; MTD I,360) [12]

7. Br. *bil* bow
Ta. *vil* bow
Ko. *viḷy* bow
To. *pïs* bow etc. (DEDR 5422)
Cf.
Kui *vesa, vaca* bowstring (DEDR 5469)
Kur. *eṛeth* long-bow (DEDR 789)

***

MT. *BER* bow (weapon) (6 MT. languages; MTD I,126)
Cf.
PAČA bow (Evenk.) (MTD II,36)
PISIDA releasing catch (in a crossbow) (Evenk.) (MTD II,39)
MISE bow-string (weakened) (Ma.) (MTD I, 539) [13]

8. Br. *xarās* bull, bullock
xaṛ ram
Ta. *kaṭavu, kaṭā, kaṭāy* male of sheep or goat, he-buffalo etc. (DEDR 1123)
Kur. *kããsā kãsā* male of the bādō-deer
Ta. *kaṭamā, kaṭamāṉ* bison
kaṭamai, kaṭampai elk
Ma. *kaṭamān* elk, fallow deer.
Nk. *kaṛas* sambur deer etc. (cf. 1123 Ta. *kaṭavu*) (DEDR 1114)

***

12. Caldwell 1913, p. 616 refers only to Uralian parallels, not Altaic.
13. Cf. Vacek 2009, pp. 92–94. The sibilants in some of the parallel etyma would be dialectal variants, which would also explain the cerebrals in Dravidian (there are many more cases where Dravidian retrophlexes correspond to Altaic sibilants): Also Ga. *viṇḍ, viṇḍu* bow; Kui *viḍu, vilu* id. (DEDR 5422; cf. Notes 17, 31 below).

Mo. *görügesü (n)* wild herbivorous animal, game, beast; antelope (Khalkha *göröös*)
MT. *KĀTER* deer (MTD I, 385)
KŌRBĒ BULL, bull of deer (4 MT. languages; MTD I, 414)[14]

9. Br. *hīlh* fly
Ta. *ī* fly, bee etc. (DEDR 533)

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Mo. *ilaγa* fly, gnat, gadfly
MT. *ILĀSUN* fly (MTD I, 306)
IRGAKTA *gadfly* (8 MT. languages; MTD I, 324–325)
Ī II gadfly (Evenk. < Yakut; MTD I, 293)
Yak. *ī* id. (MTD I, 293)

10. Kur. *erxnā* (*irxyas*) (small children, animals) have a motion, (adults) have diarrhea
Malt. *erge, ergtre* to go to stool
Ta. *eruku* (*eruki-*) to have loose motions (said of cattle)
eru manure, excrement etc. (DEDR 813)

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Mo. *Ötüg* manure, dung, humus; fertilizer; fine manure dust which covers places where cattle were kept
ötügle - to fertilize with manure
ötügsi- to become fertilized
OT. *ark* 1 excrement (Cl. 213)
ÖTÜG II diarrhea (OTD. s.v. p. 393)
ötüg 1 various meanings: sharp, pointed (Khakas); diarrhea (Xakani) (Cl. 51)[15]

11. Br. *dē* sun, sunshine, day, time[16]

14. For more details and further Altaic parallels cf. Vacek 2004a, No. 3.
15. Vacek 2013, No. 4, plus Note 8; on the parallel of the Mongolian medial dental stop (voiced or voiceless) and the Dravidian liquid see Note 11 above.
16. Concerning Brahui initial dental stop *d-* for Dravidian initial dental nasal *n-* cf. e.g. Krishnamurti 1969; Zvelebil 1970, p. 130; P.S. Subramanyam 2008, pp. 84, 289.

Ta. *nēram* time, season, opportunity
Ma. *nēram* sun, day, light, time, season, hour, turn; etc. (DEDR 3774)

***

Mo. *nara(n)* sun
MT. *DĒRĪ* light, illumination, lustre (Even. MTD I, 671)

12. Br. *maun* black, dark (of the night)
Kur. *māxā* night, etc.
Malt. *máqu* night
Ta. *mā* black; etc.
Kui *māsu* dusk, twilight (DEDR 4781)

***

MT. Orok. *paḳa, paḳal* darkness (MTD II,310; s.v. *hAKTIRĀ* darkness)

13. Br. *urā* house, wife (or with 752 Ta. *ūr*)
ust heart, mind, center, inside, kernel [17]
Kur. *ulā* inner room; in, inside
Ta. *uḷ* inside, the interior of a place, mind, heart; a locative ending etc.(DEDR 698)

***

Mo. *örü, öri* 2. Interior; heart; abdomen; coronary artery. [Ra.] pit of stomach, precordia
ori 2. spirit, soul, life, energy

17. The sibilant in this word appears to be a confirmation of the link with the respective Altaic etyma on the one hand (cf. below the Turkic forms) and with the retrophlex liquid in South Dravidian on the other hand (Vacek 2002, esp. Appendix VII, pp. 277ff.; cf. also Vacek 2004b, p. 426). The DEDR, however, makes a note with this word that it may also go with DEDR 645: Ta. *uy* to live, subsist; *uyir, ucir* life etc. But this does not seem to be the case and DEDR 645 (Ta. *uy*) may rather go with a homophone in DEDR 697: Ta. *uḷ* to exit etc. (alternation of sibilants and retrophlex liquids, while the sibilants may also turn into a semivowel *-y-*), which seems to have a set of Altaic parallels (for sibilants cf. Notes 13 above, 31 below).

MT. *ULIN* I chest (MTD II,261)
ULA II artery (Ud.) (MTD II, 257)
URE II soul (of man) (Evenk.) (MTD II, 289)
OT. *UŠ I* pith (of a tree), marrow (of bone), etc. (OTD 617)
Middle Turkic *oš* interior, marrow (Räs. 366a)[18]

14. Br. *mōn* front
mōnī being in front
Ta. *mu̲n̲* in front, previous, prior etc. etc. (DEDR 5020a)

***

Mo. *emün-e* front, south, southern; before, in front of, against.[19]

15. Br. *manning* to become, be
Ta. *ma̲n̲n̲u-* to be permanent, endure, remain long, stay, persevere, be steady
Te. *manu* to live, exist, behave, act, conduct oneself etc. (DEDR 4778)
OTa. *ma̲n̲* expletive stressing permanence, fact, truth (in Sangam poetry: *ma̲n̲n̲ ē*)

***

Mo. *Mön* a deictic word serving as a demonstrative pronoun, and copula; real, true, the very same; is/are; it is so
MT. *MĒNĒ-* to live settled life; to stay
MENE III true, correct, exactly (MTD I, 569)

16. Kur. *bē'enā* used as an auxiliary (as a separate verb, it once meant 'to remain fixedly'), to be, stay, remain
Malt. *behe* to exist, be (DEDR 4427)

***

18. For more details cf. Vacek 2007a, No. 1.
19. Cf. also cf. Vacek 1992, 258f.; for more details about further Dravidian parallels cf. Vacek 2004/2006, No. 24, Note 37, e.g. Go. (Tr.) *maiānā* to be (s.v. Ta. *ma̲n̲n̲u-* DEDR 4778), or OTa. *vāy-*[1] 2. to happen with certainty; to come true (TL s.v.).

Mo. *bai-* to be (copula), stay, exist, live, reside; to occur, be found at a certain place, be present
MT. *BI-* to be, to exist (in a place), etc. (MTD I, 79–80)[20]

17. Br. *kanning* (*kar-, ka-, kē-*) to do, make, feign oneself, be able (all stems but *kē-*, and the appearance of *k-* instead of *x-* in all stems, are due to borrowing and contamination from Bal. *kan-* and Si. Jaṭkī *kar-*)
Ta. *cey* to do, make, create, cause; deed, act, action
Ka. *key, kai, gey* to perform, do, make, work; be serviceable, fit
Konḍa, Manḍ. Ki- to do, make etc. (DEDR 1957)

***

Mo. *ki-* to do, act, perform; a 'quasi-verbalizer' added to nouns or adverbs (Khalkha *xij-* id.)
MT. *KE-* to intend to do something; to do (Evenk.) (MTD I,442)[21]

18. Br. *āvāning* to yawn
Ta. *āvi* to gape, yawn, open the mouth so as to express loudly; yawn etc. (DEDR 392)
cf.
OTa. *avi̲l-*[1] 2. to open, expand (TL s.v.)

***

Mo. *ebsije-* to yawn
ebsijel a yawn, yawning
ama*(n)* mouth
MT. AVŽAN- to open (the mouth) (MTD I,9)
AMƆA mouth (10 MT. languages; MTD I, 38–9)
EBŠĪ- to yawn (Sol. < Mongolian (MTD II, 433)[22]

20. Cf. e.g. Vacek 2004b/2006, No. 5. As for the Brahui form, obviously the 'non-contaminated' Dravidian form is *kē-*, which also corresponds with the Altaic forms. Cf. also Caldwell 1913, p. 617–618.
21. For more details cf. Vacek 2004b/2006, No. 7b.

19. Br. *Tafing* to tie up, bind, bewitch, build, construct (embankment); become congealed, gather (of clouds) (DEDR 3133)[23]

    ***

    Mo. *tobki-* to tie, sew; to tack, stitch; to bind (as a book)
    tobsi- 1. id.
    tobkijasu(n) thread, cord or wire for stitching books or paper pads
    MT. *DABBŬ-* to fix a sweep-net; to tie together, etc. (MTD I,184

20. Br. *pa<u>l</u>hing* to be boiling, on the boil, stewed; boil with rage
    palēfing to make to boil
    Ta. *pu<u>ḻ</u>uṅku* to be steamed, etc.
    To. *puṣk-* to boil (potatoes)
    Tu. *purguni* to be well-boiled (as rice); etc. etc. (DEDR 4315)

    ***

    Mo. *bülijen, büligen* warm, lukewarm (of liquids); fever (of a child)
    bulzala- to boil until soft, stew, cook slowly
    MT. *BULA-* to bake (MTDI,106)
    OT. *bula:-* to cook, to cook in steam (Cl. 333)

21. Br. *tug* sleep, dream
    tugī sleepy
    tungān asleep, sound asleep
    Kur. *tungul* a dream
    Malt. *tumgle* id.
    Ta. *tūṅku* sleep, slumber

23. It is with a question-mark that the DEDR connects the Brahui word with the etymon with a medial liquid: Ta. taḷai to fasten, bind, chain ? < **taḷp-* or **taḷv-*, with elision of *-ḷ-*. The above proposed link appears to be more 'natural'.

tūkkam sleep, drowsiness, fatigue, etc. (DEDR 3376a-b)[24]

***

Mo. *duγ* calm, tranquil, quiet; deep (of sleep)
duγ ki- to take a nap, doze
duγuzira- to get sleepy, doze off
MT. *TOΓO-* to lie down (about animals) (MTD II, 190)
NΘKUKEN- to fall asleep (MTD I, 606)

22. Br. *hushing* to set fire (s.v. Ta. *uru,* DEDR 656)[25]
Kui *ōspa* to be bright, shine, glitter, give light
ōsteri light (s.v. DEDR 1037, the rest means 'beauty' etc.)
Kuwi *oh-* to set fire (Israel, p. 342, s.v.)
?Ta. *ōccai* fried food [TL s.v.]
Ka. *ese* to shine, be brilliant, be beautiful, [appear]
Te. *esaṅgu, esãgu* [to arise, appear, etc.], (K. also) shine etc. (DEDR 778)

***

Mo. *asa-* 1. to burn, catch fire, ignite, burn
asaγa- to cause to burn, set fire to, kindle; ignite; start the motor
MT. *ISKET-/Č-* to experience summer heat (MTD I,331)
OhOK furnace (MTD II,29)
Neg. *osok, osox* furnace
OT. *ISI-* 1. to become hot; 2. to warm o.s. up;
ISIG hot; warm [26]

23. Br. *Tīrūnk* spark (s.v. Ta. *tī, tīy* to be burnt with a question-mark; DEDR 3266)
Malt. *nare* flame

24. The meanings 'to sleep' and 'to hang' should better be separated; cf. also Vacek 2007b, Note 5.
25. Judging from the DEDR index, the majority of Brahui words (but for three words from thirty two) with initial *h-* belong to the Dravidian etyma beginning with vowels, which justify the assumption that this word should belong to the present lexical set.
26. More detailed lists are to be found in Vacek 2001, Section 2.

narġe to rise up in flames; etc.
Ta. *neruppu* fire
Pa. *nir-* to blaze
Kui *drē* ignition, a flare etc. (DEDR 2929) [27]
Kur. *nērnā* to get dry, lose moisture
nirnā to dry up
Malt. *nére* to get somewhat dry (DEDR 3777)
Ta. *teṟu* to burn, scorch, [be angry, etc.]
Nk. *tirup* sun's ray
Go. *ter-* to be fierce (heat of the sun)
tarītānā to be hot (of the sun) etc. (DEDR 3440)

***

Mo. *dölü, döli* flame
dulaγan warm heated (not of liquids); warmth
tüle-, tüli- to kindle a fire; to set on a fire; to burn, scorch; to heat (as a stove)
dürbelze- to blaze, flame
dargil (a)- to seethe, boil
nöle fire, flame
nölede- to ignite, begin to burn; to flame, blaze
nilcigina- to radiate (of heat)
nurgi- b. to boil on a slow fire
nurmasi- to form red-hot coals or ashes
MT. telen flame (MTD II, 233)
Ma. *dolo-* to ignite bonfires
DILAČĀ sun (MTD I,206) [28]

24. Br. *avalēnging* to become confused, feel embarrassed
Ta. *Avalam* suffering, pain, distress, poverty, want, sorrowing, care, anxiety, fault, sickness, disease etc.

27. Alternation of the initial dental stop/nasal can be observed not only in Dravidian, but also in Altaic (see the below examples); cf. Vacek 2002, pp. 63–64. There are lexemes with variation of the initial labial stop/nasal and also of the initial dental/labial nasal (cf. above No. 12; below No. 25).
28. For a more detailed list of the etyma cf. Vacek 2001, Section 1.

Te. *āvali* trouble
āvaḍi trouble, danger, calamity etc. (DEDR 265)[29]

***

Mo. *ebed-* to be taken ill, be sick; to hurt, feel pain
MT. *AVŪL-* I to become melancholic, be bored (OTD I, 10)
ABALAN- to be distressed (Evenk. < Yakut) (MTD I, 3)
EVLĒN- to feel sorry, regret (Evenk.) (OTD II, 435)
OT. *EVŠÜK* aged person's ailments, decrepitude (OTD s.v.)
?*emge:* - to suffer pain (Cl. 159)
Yakut *abalā-* to distress, grieve (MTD I,3)[30]

25. Br. *miring* to plaster
Ta. *meḻuku* to cleanse the floor with a cow dung solution, smear as the body with sandal paste, gloss over, varnish; cow dung, wax, gum etc.
To. *möšk-* to smear with the dung of buffaloes as a ritual purification [31] etc. (DEDR 5082)
Kur. *nisʲgnā* to overlay with a coating of earth carefully smoothed down, stop a hole with earth, besmear with any adhesive substance
Malt. *nisġe* to smooth
nísye to shampoo (DEDR 3666)

***

Mo. *milaγa-* to anoint, smear with oil; to perform the ritual of anointing new-born children, new dwellings,

29. An interesting coincidence with this etymon may be Skt. *āpad-* 'misfortune, calamity, distress' (not an early occurrence, attested in Manu, etc.), which is derived from *ā-pad-(yate)* 'to come, walk near, approach; fall into, get into trouble', etc. (MW.). Could this lexeme and its meaning be a result of processes (including folk etymology) in an early language contact within the Indian linguistic area?
30. For more detailed lists cf. Vacek 2004b/2006, No. 27b; cf. also Vacek 2014 (in print), Note 18.
31. The sibilants in Toda, Kurukh and Malto are relevant parallels with the retrophlex liquids in Tamil (cf. Notes 13, 17 above).

and other newly perfected objects by smearing them with butter, milk, etc. for securing good fortune [32]
bila-, bilaγa- to coat with, smear, spread; to soil
nila- to smear, rub
MT. *BIRE-* to knead the dough (MTD I, 85)
N'ĬĬLĬ- to smear, coat, lubricate, paint (MTD I, 638) [33]

Conclusion

The great phonetic similarity of several hundred lexical items, from which we have seen above only a few, does not appear to be coincidental. At the same time, with all the irregularities and variations, the lexical items are phonetically and semantically relatively close (or almost identical in some cases). The many cases of variant and/or irregular phonetic correspondences and the existence of many synonyms in Dravidian (of which some may have parallels in Altaic) made me conclude that in fact there are two layers in Dravidian, a 'pre-Altaic layer' and the 'Altaic layer' – a result of migration of the early languages from Central Asia and their contact with the local languages on the Indian soil.

However, this could not have happened before the Aryan migration, because, among other things, in the middle of the 2nd Millennium B.C. the Indo-Aryans obviously had the first contacts with the Munda (or Para-Munda) languages, as it was persuasively demonstrated by Witzel (1999) on the basis of previous research especially of F.B.J. Kuiper (cf. Kuiper 1991 with further references). Thus, also with regard to the relative phonetic closeness of the Dravidian and Altaic parallels, this process could not have been too far back in the past, it could have possibly been parallel with, or rather immediately following the Aryan migration – around 1 000 – 500/400 B.C.? And it is to be

32. Note also the ritualistic connotations in both Dravidian (Tamil, Toda) and Mongolian.
33. More in Vacek 2004b, No. 29; repr. 2006; cf. also Vacek 2012, Note 22.

underlined that our linguistic findings (irregularities, variations, and lacunae in spite of great closeness) very much correspond to the development of languages that can be observed in the processes involved in language contact (cf. Thomason, Kaufman 1988). Thus the results point in this direction, viz. two layers in Dravidian (repeatedly proposed in my recent papers, starting with 2009), – and not necessarily into the direction of a language family.[34]

This is a preliminary proposal based on purely linguistic and sociolinguistic considerations. It should be further tested in the context of other branches of knowledge, especially various aspects of the external history of the Indian linguistic area and of its individual language families, particularly archaeology, also linguistic archaeology (Southworth 2005), history, culture, cultural anthropology, possibly genetics, etc. At the same time, it is necessary to study the linguistic parallels systematically and to create a comparative material as detailed as possible. However, it should be done with a critical approach while at the same time we should look into the past without any bias. And collecting and investigating the linguistic data of the minor Dravidian languages, including Brahui and North Dravidian as a whole, can also contribute to this and shed new light on some of the aspects of the ancient historical reality.

Abbreviations:

Cl. – Clauson 1972
DEDR – Burrow, Emeneau 1984(2)
Mo. – Mongolian language
MT. – Manchu-Tungus languages
MTD – *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' tunguso-man'čžurskih jazykov*

34. A language family has been recently proposed for Dravidian and Mongolian by Uma Maheshwar Rao with whom we have agreed to disagree. He deals with the material very thoroughly and in great detail. It is certainly useful to test various approaches and models.

OT. – Old Turkic
OTD – *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'*
Räs. – Räsänen 1969
TL – *Tamil Lexicon*
Yak. – Yakut language

As for the abbreviations of other languages, I use those abbreviations commonly used and listed e.g. in the DEDR (Burrow and Emeneau 1984, *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*), in the MTD (*Sravnitel'nyj slovar' tunguso-man'čžurskih jazykov*) and in Räsänen 1969.

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4

On the Deciphering of the Indus Valley Script and the Solution of the Brahui Problem

Prof. Anand M. Sharan

Abstract

This paper discusses the authenticity of the Indus Valley script used by the presently living tribes in eastern Bihar State in India. The explanation as to how the tribes acquired this script is detailed. In addition, the solution to the Brahui problem as stated by Sir Denys Bray is also given. The question about where did the Indus Valley people go is described with a topographical map of India. Next, the role of Hindu scriptures and life of Jain Tirthankars are considered to explain the possible existence of the Indus Valley script in Bihar and neighboring state of Uttar Pradesh. Finally, the paper briefly discusses the gradual evolution of the way of living of the Indian subcontinent starting from the Indus Valley days.

Introduction

The Indus Valley civilization is widely thought to have reached its peak during the period between 2700 B.C.-1900 B.C. This civilization was not known until the year 1922 when the excavations under Sir John Marshall were carried out. These excavations continued until the year 1931. Sir Mortimer Wheeler carried out further archeological work after the partition of India in 1947. This civilization existed over a vast area. This area, according to the recent count contained about 2,500 settlements

(*Feuerstein* et al, 1995). In other words, this area exceeded the combined areas of the Sumerian and Egyptian civilizations.

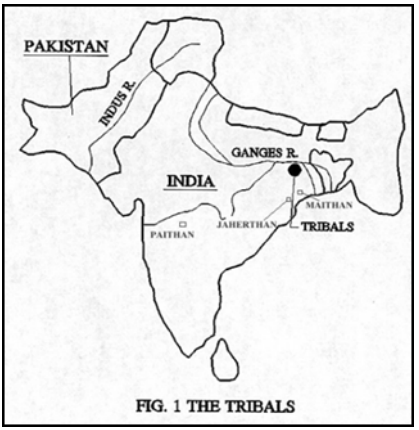

FIG. 1 THE TRIBALS

In spite of all these excavations and studies of different types of relics, what has remained evasive is deciphering of their script. To know more about the people who built this sophisticated society, the unraveling of their script was of utmost importance. The archeologists have excavated tools, seals, art-work etc, bearing the script on them but, were unsuccessful in deciphering their script. Notables in this respect are the works of Parpola (1994), Rao (1984), Wilson (1984), Hunter (1934), Mitchener (1978), Kak (1989), to name a few. Just like the Egyptian civilization which remained a mystery until the 18thcentury, so was the Indus Valley until 1992 when Pathak and Verma disclosed to the world that they had found the tribes in the state of Bihar in India, using the script. Verma had spent a considerable amount of time with the tribes to come up with the decipherment.

It was startling because the way the script got deciphered defied any one's imagination i.e., to find anyone in this day and age to be using those script, and that too - that far away from the Indus Valley (see Fig. 1)? How could anyone know about the script and not come out and say about it to the world? Anything is possible in India, a country which builds nuclear bombs and ballistic missiles and launches satellites on one hand, and where, people ride bullock-carts or live in forests totally cut off from the march of time, on the other. A perfect co-

existence of differing lifestyles. A country where people live in the 20th century and also where the Indus Valley script remained obscured from the present day civilization.

TABLE 1. SOUND VALUE OF INDUS SYMBOLS

INDUS	DEVNAGRI	ROMAN
	क	KA
	ग	GA
	ड	DA
	ह	HA
	भ	BHA
	स	SA

The present work was taken up by the author, who grew up in the state of Bihar, and was mystified since the childhood about the mysteries of the Indus Valley. During the early fifties, when the author was growing up in Bihar, the history taught was that the people of this civilization were not Aryans. This civilization existed before the Aryans came to India from Asia Minor. However, it was nowhere stated that these people of the Indus Valley were Dravidians. It was left as a mystery as to who these people were? The Egyptian civilization was known to be old but there was no comparative work available at that time as to which one was older.

Ever since the discovery of these tribes, the question has been put forward by many, including by Pathak and Verma (1993) in the epilogue of their book - How did this particular tribe living in the Santhal Pargana in the state of Bihar know about this script? The point to note is that these tribes are not nomadic. To those interested in knowing the answer to this question or to those who were interested in satisfying their curiosity, was the question in front of them - In what form would the proof exist that these were indeed the Indus Valley script, and how did the Santhals, who are cut off from the rest of the world, get it ?

Some suggested looking for the potteries or studying their food habits etc. The author of this paper was spending the summer of the year 1998 in the state of Bihar. He came back to St. John's, Canada totally puzzled by all of this. He found the answer to the problem after coming back to Canada. The answer is explained in the pages that follow, and the answer to this question comes from many diverse sources.

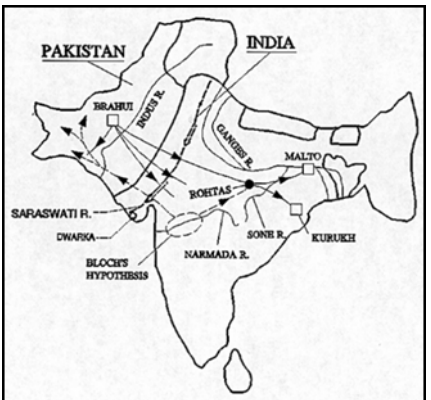

FIG. 2. MIGRATION PATHS

Going over the information about the civilization, the plausible proof can be seen in the Figs. 1 and 2. Pathak and Verma (1993) found the tribes who spoke Malto or Santhali in the state of Bihar. Malto is a proto-Dravidian language. In this figure (Fig. 2) which has been re-drawn (Elfenbein, 1987), one can see that the tribes which spoke Brahui, split into three as they moved south-east from the Balochistan province of Pakistan, in older times. The fourth one went to the Sindh province in Pakistan. Fig. 2 shows the area in Balochistan where they speak Brahui even now. In Fig. 2, one of these tribes who was going south-east, split into two at Rohtas (in Kaimur district in the present state of Bihar).

After splitting, one went to the Raj-Mahal hills and settled there, and where they were found by Pathak and Verma; and the other went to the Chhota Nagpur plateau. These were the Kurukh (Oraon) speaking tribes.

Let us now look at the Brahui problem posed by Sir Denys Bray in 1934. This Brahui problem stated simply is the existence of Brahui speaking people in the hills of

Table: 2 The Jain Tirthankars			
1	Rishabha	13	Vimala
2	Ajita	14	Ananta
3	Sambhava	15	Dharma
4	Abhinandana	16	Shanti
5	Sumati	17	Kuntha
6	Padmaprabha (*The Jains believe that the Indus Valley Civilization flourished during the times between the third and the ninth Tirthankaras*)	18	Aara
7	Supaarshva	19	Mallinaatha *(The Aryanization of India completed)*
8	Chandraprabha	20	Suvrata
9	Pushpadanta	21	Naml
10	Shitalnatha *(Aryans arrived into India)*	22	Neml
11	Shreyaamsha	23	Paarshvanath *(872-772 B.C.)*
12	Vaasupujya	24	Mahavira *(599-522 B.C.)*

Balochistan, who are surrounded by Balochi (an archaic Iranian language) speaking people. The question was- How did these get separated by hundreds of miles from the Dravidians living in other parts of India as shown in Fig. 2. This figure also shows another hypothesis by Bloch (the migration paths shown in dotted lines) who had suggested that Brahui was spoken by tribes from Central and Western India. One of these tribes migrated north-west to the different areas in the present day Pakistan. Another group of these migrated east along the Narmada River up to Rohtas and then further split into two. Bloch came up with

Table: 3 Birth Places of the Jain Tirthankars					
1	Rishabha	Birth Place	13	Vimala	Birth Place
2	Ajita	Kosala	14	Ananta	?
3	Sambhava	Kosala	15	Dharma	?
4	Abhinandana	Kosala	16	Shanti	?
5	Sumati	Kosala	17	Kuntha	?
6	Padmaprabha	Kausambi	18	Aara	? Arrah, Bihar
7	Supaarshva	Varanasi	19	Mallinaatha	Mithila, Darbhanga, Bihar
8	Chandraprabha	Chandrapura (Near Varanasi)	20	Suvrata	Rajgriha, Bhiar
9	Pushpadanta	Kakan (Near Monghyr,Bihar)	21	Naml	Mithila, Darbhanga, Bihar
10	Shitalnatha	Bhadia (Hazaribagh, Bihar)	22	Neml	Mathura
11	Shreyaamsha	Simuhpuri (Near Varanasi)	23	Paarshvanath	Varansi
12	Vaasupujya	Champa	24	Mahavira	Vaishali, Bihar

this hypothesis in 1924 while opposing the views of Sir John Marshall who believed that the Dravidian language entered then un-partitioned India through Balochistan. Georg *Morgenstierne* disputed Bloch's hypothesis in the year 1932. It, the Bloch's hypothesis, also did not find support by Emeneau in his work in 1960. However, Bloch's hypothesis was strongly supported by Elfenbein (1987).

Looking at Figs. 2, it is quite obvious that Bloch's hypothesis is not true because the tribes which were using the Indus Valley script in the Santhal Pargana could not have known about it, had they come from Western India originally. They had to have migrated from the Indus Valley. Therefore, it is the first hypothesis, which has to be valid. This is based on the direct evidence that we have to-day - the use of the Indus Valley script by the Santhals. Thus, Sir John Marshall's thinking was correct.

Is the script used by the Santhals, the Indus Valley script or a script similar to that? From the facts mentioned above, one can see that it is the Indus Valley script because it is similar, and the language spoken by these tribes has the same origin as the ones living in Balochistan (Indus Valley area) presently. In the identification of a letter of a script, it is the similarity, which is used as the criteria. This principle is used in the computer software these days where a typed material is scanned first, and then the special software is used to identify the letters based on similarity. Once the letters are identified then re-typing effort is saved. In this way, old documents are being stored on computer disks. This topic of pattern recognition using computers is a current field of research in engineering.

The Santhals were using this script for the identification of the tribes. The author is not surprised at that because, even today in India, at the time of birth, horoscopes are prepared where Gotra (lineage of various sages) is mentioned. At the time of the negotiations of marriages, care is taken so that the couple does not

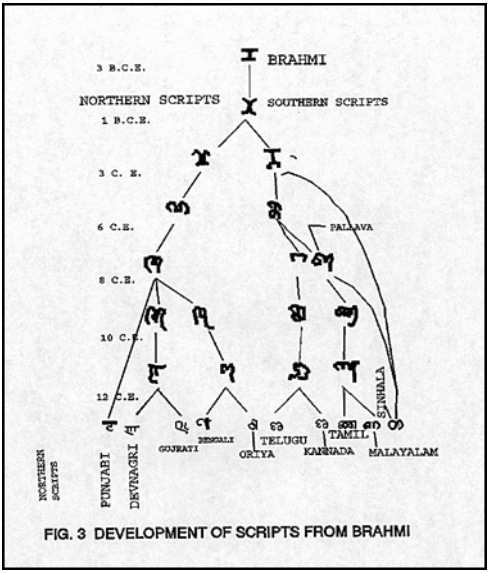

FIG. 3 DEVELOPMENT OF SCRIPTS FROM BRAHMI

have the same Gotra (genetically it is not desirable). This tradition has been practiced since ancient times. The only difference is that the horoscopes are written in Sanskrit language using the Devanagari script. The Brahmi script (emperor Ashoka's edicts were written in the Brahmi script) preceded this script, and the Brahmi script evolved out of the Indus Valley script. The evolution of various scripts used in present India can be seen in Fig. 3.

It shows that the evolution of the South Indian script split from the North Indian quite early in time. Table 4 shows the possible beginning dates of other scripts [Parpola, 1994]. Important events in Indian history are shown in Table 5. Did the tribes use any of the scripts mentioned in Fig. 3 or described in Table 4?

The answer is - None other than the Indus script. Since the Santhals were isolated from the rest of the society, they continued to use the Indus Valley script. Moreover, a new script does not come up that quickly, as compared to a change in a language. No work on the Indus Valley would be complete until one has a glimpse of the symbols and their sound values. Some of these are shown in Table 1.

These are very common symbols discussed in many books on this subject. The sound values of these and some other symbols are reported in (Pathak, and Verma, 1993).

In the first column in this table are the Indus Valley symbols and its sound value is shown in the second column where the letters of the Devanagari script are shown. Devanagari script is used in India presently for Hindi, Sanskrit, and Marathi languages. Finally, the third column shows the letters of the Roman script. The sound value is precisely known from the Devanagari script. The fish symbol, which was discussed at great length by Parpola (1994), has a sound value of the letter I, for example, when we pronounce - Irwin. Pathak and Verma mention the existence of the rudiments of the Roman and the Greek alphabets also in their book. This shows the possibility of contacts between the Indus Valley civilization, and these countries.

The condition of India during and after the Indus period

Was there a discontinuity between the Indus Valley civilization, and the present day civilization? The author does not think so. The reasons are listed below:

1. The structures made of brick in the Indus Valley civilization, and those used to build Gautam Buddha's palace at Kapilvastu in Nepal, and the brick structures at Vaishali, the capital of Licchavis (they practiced democracy in the at least in the 6th century B.C. (if not earlier) in Bihar, are all similar (the pattern of laying bricks) including the technology of making the bricks.
2. The Jains list their Tirthankars starting much earlier than the arrival of the Aryans.

Table 2 shows all the names of Jain Tirthankars, and also, it shows the time when the Aryans arrived in India which was at the time of Shitalnatha. They believe that the Indus Valley civilization flourished between the times of number three-Sambhava, and the ninth - Pushpadanta. What is meant by the word – flourished? Does it mean that

it reached its peak? This may be possible. However, the name of Rishabha appears in Shrimad Bhagavad - one of the holy books of the Hindus. There, it describes the events in the area of Koshala (shown as Kosala in Fig. 4).

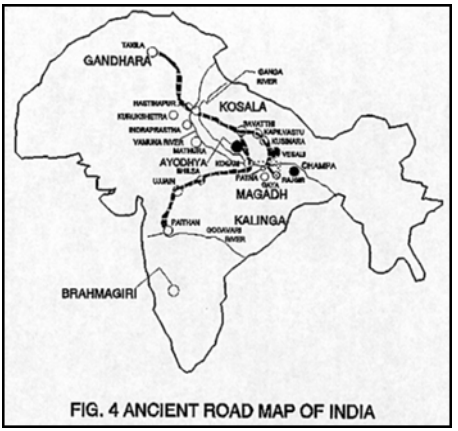

FIG. 4 ANCIENT ROAD MAP OF INDIA

Table 3 shows the place of birth of each of the Tirthankaras. It is based on Jain beliefs. It does check out correct with the descriptions of the holy book mentioned above, of the Hindus. This table (Table 3) shows that all the Tirthankaras were born in the present state of Bihar or Uttar Pradesh. Fig. 4 shows the ancient road map of India [Kosambi, 1965], starting from Taxila (Harappan area) to Rajgir, the first capital of the written history of India. Most researchers agree that the civilization spread from the Indus Valley - Harappa region eastwards along present India - Nepal border, which is confirmed by this roadmap. The development of various Upanishads - the Hindu Scriptures, is shown in Fig. 6 [Olivelle, 1998].

If one reviews the Tables 2, 3, and Figs. 4, and 6, they clearly show that the Hindu - Jain religions evolved parallel to each other. The Jain Tirthankaras came from present-day Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Fig. 9 shows Parasnath in South Bihar. What was happening to other areas in India during the days of the Indus Valley civilization? The road between Rajgir and Taxila was called Uttarapatha (North Road), that between Savatthi to Paithan (present day Maharashtra) - Dakshinapatha (South Road). People used to travel to South India along this road. Brahmagiri was famous for trading in gold etc, even in

those days. The Jainism in South India in the state of Karnataka was due to the migrations, during Chandragupta Maurya's time, from Bihar when there was a famine in Bihar. Under the leadership of Bahubali, people went from Bihar to Karnataka, and when they subsequently came back, there was a dispute with those remaining in Bihar. This dispute was about the change in the cannons by those remaining (Svetambaras). The orthodoxies were known as the Digambars.

FIG. 5 BRONZE TOOL

There were subsequent Jain migrations from Bihar to Mathura area, and also to Gujrat, in the early part of the Christian era. At Parasnath, 21 out of 24 Jain Tirthankars had obtained their nirvana. Lord Mahavira of the Jains got his enlightenment on one of the peaks at Rajgir, and nirvana, at Pawapuri, a few miles from Rajgir. Lord Buddha, when he left his palace, went to Vaishali, then to Rajgir, and finally, he got enlightenment near the holy place of the Hindus at Gaya. The enlightenment came to him in the Aravali forest, just a few miles from the Hindu holy place, where it is believed, that King Dashratha of Ramayana, had also visited. Regarding the historical proof of the Ramayana, it does not exist. However, the roadmap showing Ayodhya, and other ancient cities, leaves us with, at least, points to the possibility of its historicity. Should we believe in epics whose historicity is not established? Let us look at this: A German businessman named Schliemann uncovered Troy, the seat of the Ancient Greek Civilization. The truth of this fact became known very recently. He believed in Homer's description of Troy, which was doubted by the historians, and carried out the excavations with his own money. After finding the jewelry at Troy, he took them to Berlin. During the Second World War, the

Russians reached Berlin first, took the jewelry to Russia and kept this fact, a secret. People in the free world, in the meantime, started doubting about Schliemann's discoveries at Troy. Some started saying that Schliemann had bought that jewelry from a local store, and called the press conference to announce that he had uncovered Troy. After the breakup of the Soviet Union, the Russians admitted that the jewelry was in Moscow. In the same way, we cannot rule out the historicity of the Ramayana, and the Mahabharat but, keep the possibilities open.

Since all of the above (famous people mentioned in the Hindu, and Jain scriptures) in India, lived before or during the Indus Valley days, what script was being used either by the Hindus or the Jains? Table 4 shows the earliest use of the Brahmi script to 600 B.C. Fig. 6 shows various Upanishads being created in North Bihar, and Eastern Uttar Pradesh? In fact, the Samveda was created by sage Yajnavalkya, who was in King Janak's court. King Janak in Mithila is famous for his practice of Advaita philosophy. The readers, for example, can read about his thoughts in the book - Ashtavakra Samhita - published by the Ram Krishna Mission in India. There must be other publications available about Janak, and his philosophical approach in life. The Upanishads discuss these. What was the script used by such an evolved society? It had to be the Indus script,

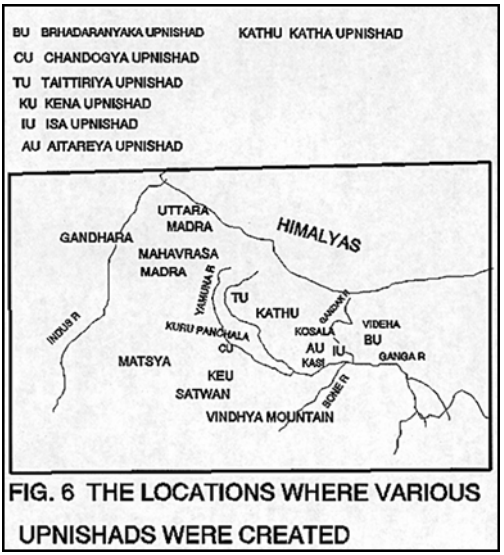

FIG. 6 THE LOCATIONS WHERE VARIOUS UPNISHADS WERE CREATED

although we do not have any direct evidence of it. Santhals are the only ones who provide us with a direct proof.

How did the Santhals end up at Rajmahal hills?

While visiting the Patna Museum in the year 1991, the author came across some exhibits which were - ancient stone and bronze tools found in the Palamu district about 30 miles south of Rohtas, shown in Fig. 2. The bronze tool was similar to the one shown in Fig. 5. The author, a metallurgist by education, was surprised to see the bronze tool being found in Palamu, which has been a forested area where the tribal people have lived all along. The stone tool did not surprise him because he had seen tribal people using bows and arrows in the fifties at a place called Lokai near Koderma, about 100 miles from the Palamu district. The author was puzzled, and could not come up with an explanation of it. The bronze tool could not have been made in an undeveloped society.

When the author came back to Canada from India in the year 1998, after hearing about the Santhals using the Indus script, he started looking into the books about the Indus Valley civilization until he came across a map in Parpola's book which is shown as Fig. 2. The bronze tool was found on the migration path of the tribal people. This explained the existence of the bronze tool in the Palamu district. Following this lead, the author carried out further research in the metallurgy area in ancient India.

Feuerstein et. al (1995) say that the Indus people moved to the Yamuna - Ganga basin after the Saraswati River dried out due to the tectonic movement after which the Sutlej River, a tributary of the Saraswati River, changed its course. The waters of other tributaries afterward, flowed into the Yamuna River. A belief exists among the Hindus that at Allahabad (Kosam - Fig.2), three rivers merge, and this place is also called Triveni Sangam, which means a place of the merger of three rivers. These rivers

are, as the belief goes - Ganga, Yamuna, and Saraswati. Everyone sees Ganga and Yamuna, but what about the Saraswati? The answer is that the Yamuna River carries with it, parts of the water of the old Saraswati River. Secondly, in the Mahabharat, it is mentioned that Balarama, the brother of Lord Krishna at Dwarka (shown in Fig. 2), did not participate in the war. Instead, he went on a pilgrimage along the Saraswati river. This figure shows that the possibility did exist at that time when the Saraswati River was flowing as shown in Fig. 2. What Feuerstein et. al (1995) say, by and large, could be true but, these authors do not dwell into other aspects such as the state of other areas in India during the Indus Valley days. Agarwal (1971) and Banerjee (1965) believe that this river basin (Ganga – Yamuna) was a swamp which could not be inhabited until the arrival of the Iron Age (iron tools). These tools were used to cut the thick forests of this basin. This is why, the population in north India was located along the present day India - Nepal border, which is confirmed from Fig. 4. For example, it shows Hastinapur at the foot of the Himalayas. The population was along the Uttarapatha. While the Ganga - Yamuna basin was thickly forested, it was not true with the other hilly areas shown in Fig. 8 [Kosambi, 1956].

This area is enclosed within a thick closed curve and is elevated between 1000 to 3000 feet above the sea level. It is a rocky area, and a civilization subsequent to the drying up of the Saraswati River grew up in Ujjain (Madhya Pradesh) - Nasik (Maharashtra) area. This was still during the Bronze Age (1800 - 1400 B.C.). The bronze in this area was not of the same quality as that of the Harappan civilization [Agarwal, 1971]. This civilization did not flourish, according to Agarwal, because the agriculture did not support it. It was not as fertile an area as was the Indus Valley. Ganga - Yamuna basin was very fertile. Naturally, the population of the Indus Valley moved towards this

basin. It does not mean that people were not living in other areas of India. There were always migrations taking place within India in the times much before the Indus Valley days. Rajgir had its civilization much before the peak of the Indus Valley. From above, it is quite evident why people from the Indus Valley moved in mass, to other areas towards other populated areas along the Himalayan Foot-Hills which was already inhabited as the Jain Tirthankars places of birth, and nirvana (Parasnath) show. Furthermore, it is also confirmed by the times of - the Upanishads, the Ramayana, and the Mahabharat.

The next civilization that developed was the Magadha Empire having its capital at Rajgir. This time, however, India was in the Iron Age. Rajgir had a unique location. It had the iron ore outcrop in the Barabar Hills [Wolpert, 1994], and also, the fertile plains (Fig. 7). Thus, it had the right conditions for the development. Here, the Jain, and Buddhist kings ruled. Various important places where the Jains and the Buddhists still visit include Parasnath. Subsequently, the capital was moved to Pataliputra (Patna). With the access to the iron ore near Rajgir, and South Bihar (Fig. 7), they built a vast empire.

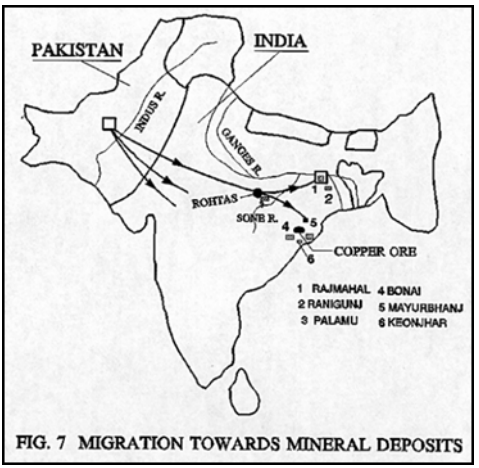

FIG. 7 MIGRATION TOWARDS MINERAL DEPOSITS

In Fig. 7, one can see that these tribal people had the know-how about the minerals, and therefore, migrated to those areas which had mineral deposits which included Rajmahal hills where they were found by Verma, and Pathak. The author believes that these tribal people also

built the civilization at Ujjain. Ujjain also falls on this migration path. There are areas near Ranchi which are named after copper (Tamra in Sanskrit). The place is called Tamar. Nearby Ranchi, is the river called Subarnarekha (gold - line) River, which contained native gold on its bed. The tribal people must be panning gold there.

Tab.5 CULTURAL PERIODS

CULTURE	YEARS (B.C.)
KANISHKA	78 A.D.
KING ASHOKA	269 - 232
KING BIMBISAR	560 APPROX
GAUTAM BUDDHA	563 - 483
WRITTEN HISTORY	600
IRON AGE	1100
POST HARAPPAN	1400 - 1100
LATE HARAPPAN	1900 - 1400
INTERMEDIATE HARAPPAN	2300 - 1900
EARLY HARAPPAN	2550 - 2300
TRANSITION	2600 - 2550
PRE - HARAPPAN	3600 - 2550

Fig. 7 also shows copper ore and the iron ore occurring next to each other. It is quite possible, as the author thinks that the Iron Age in India started from here. This is because; the furnace for smelting copper can also be used for smelting iron. Copper melts at 1083 degrees C, and the iron can be extracted between 900 to 1150 degrees C by a direct reduction process [McGannon, 1964]. These tribal people were quite familiar with smelting processes for the metals.

Places like Maithan, Jaherthan, and Paithan, appear to be pre-historic names of the places where these tribal people, also called Adivasis (Adi means beginning, and vasi means inhabitants), have lived since a long time. These places are shown in Fig. 1. These are all in North India. These places were in the forest areas in the early times.

It is mentioned in Agarwal (1971), Biswas (1996), and Banerjee (1965), that these tribes are of Austric group origin. The facts presented here rule out that possibility due to their knowledge of the Indus script. The various pictures shown above provide proofs for the well-developed civilization not only along the India - Nepal border or the north of the

Ganges River but also of a well-developed civilization in South Bihar. The important points to note are:

1. The Hindu scriptures show a gradual change in their theme and philosophy.
2. In India, the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age is similar to the other civilizations such as Egyptian or the others. The first in the world, according to the established facts, were the Hittites in Turkey, who used iron in sufficient quantity. Copper ore is found in Rajasthan and Bihar, whereas Bihar has a rich source of iron ore.
3. Parpola (1994) relies far more on linguistic continuity than *Feuerstein* et. al. (1995), who have emphasized religious (scriptural) knowledge which includes the knowledge of astronomy.

All of the above factors show that the Indus Valley civilization was built by so-called the Dravidians, which includes people living in north India presently. There is continuity in the technological aspect with the rest of the known world at that time. Therefore, the Aryans did not come with superior technology to invade India. The coming of the Aryans is believed to be around 1500 B.C., and earlier. The transition from the bronze to Iron Age is said to be around 1200 to 1100 B.C. In other words, the Aryans came to India during the Bronze Age. There does not exist any

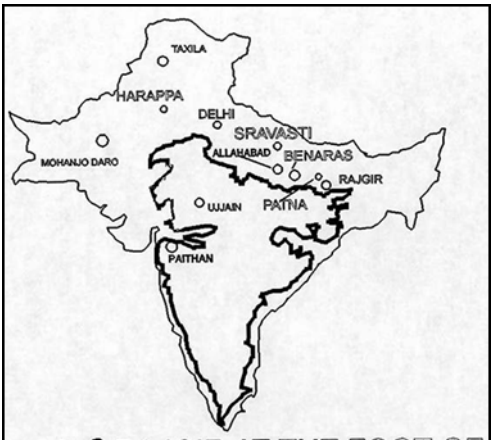

FIG. 8 RAJGIR AT THE FOOT OF THE DHARWAR RANGE

proof of any special technology brought by them. Therefore, there does not seem to be a convincing argument in favor of those who say that the Dravidians receded to the south after the Aryan invasion.

Summary

In summary, this work, (a) substantiates, using independent sources, the findings of Pathak and Verma that the script that the Santhals were using was indeed that of the Indus Valley civilization (b) Bloch's hypothesis about the solution of the Brahuis Problem is not correct, as confirmed by the direct evidence, (d) the Santhals migrated towards the mineral deposits in Chhotanagpur Plateau where, today, about 75% of India's minerals are mined, (e) The Indus people moved towards the already populated areas of North India at that time because those were more fertile areas as compared to south, which has rocky topography, and (f) there was no sharp discontinuity in the development of the present day civilization from the Indus Valley civilization.

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5

Theories about the Origin of Brahui Language

Noor Ahmed Pirkani

Languages were created by the humans for communicating with each other for the fulfillment of their necessities and desires, soon after they set their feet on the earth. Aristotle has said that a human is a social animal; therefore he cannot live alone or in isolation. The existence of society invented different languages in different areas, words and sentences were framed and languages became an important tool of human communication, for the realization of their dreams, celebrations of cultural events and for the performance of their religious rituals. The existence of language invented literature and preliminary literature was in the shape of folk literature.

The importance of language is essential for every aspect of our daily lives. Language is used to inform the people around us about what we feel, what we desire, and question/understand the world around us. We communicate effectively with our words, gestures, and tone of voice in a multitude of situation. Being able to communicate with each other, form bonds, teamwork, are the acts which separate humans from other species. Communication drives our lives. About 7000 languages are being spoken in the World and hundreds of languages have perished due to different reasons and UNESCO has conducted Survey about 3000 dying languages and it is said that 230 languages will diminish at the end of the twenty-first century, 27 Pakistani regional languages are

included in the same list, unfortunately Brahui has been included in the list of 27 those endangered Pakistani languages.

Brahui is one of the oldest languages of the Indian sub-continent. Brahui speaking people are found in Balochistan, Sindh, Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, and Iran. The 2013 edition of Ethnologue reports that there are some 4.2 million Brahui language speakers; 4 million live in Pakistan, mainly in the province of Balochistan. Brahui is isolated from the nearest Dravidian-speaking neighbor population of South India by a distance of more than 1,500 kilometers.

Kalat and Mastung and Khuzdar districts of Balochistan are predominantly Brahui-speaking. Brahui is the only Dravidian language which has not been written in a Brahmi script in the recent past; instead, it is written in the Arabic script. More recently, a Roman-based orthography named Brolikva which is a short form of Brahui Roman *Likvar* has been developed by the Brahui Language Board of the University of Balochistan in Quetta and has been adopted by Talár newspaper.

Theories about the origin of Brahui language

There are many theories about the origin of the Brahui language. Some people claim that Brahui is an Aryan language; others say that it is a Turko-Iranian language. Intellectuals and linguists also say that the traces of Brahui language have been found in the remnants of Mohen Jo Daro and it has a Dravidian origin.

Brahui is Turko- Aryan or Turrani language

Renowned linguists and historians, Meer Gul Khan Naseer, Agha Naseer Khan Ahmedzai, Haqil Khan Mengal, Saleh Muhammad Lehri, and Meer Khuda Baksh Marri have taken ideas from the books of some Arab geographers, historians, and tourists and claim that Brahui belongs to a Turko Aryan (Turrani) family of the language family. The

reason presented for considering Brahui as Aryan language is that it contains words of Persian, Balochi, Pashto, Sindhi, Urdu and Saraiki languages. This idea seems unrealistic and based on unsold grounds. The reasons for the unreality of this theory are that the syntax, sound moods, prepositions, and alphabetical special items are altogether different among Brahui, Balochi, Pashto, Sindhi & Saraiki languages

Table 1: Similarity between Brahui and Tamil Words

i.	um	Used in brahui and indian Dravidian languages for the same purpose i.e also.	
ii.	O , A	Dravidian and brahui language o is used in same sense for calling persons.	
iii.	Aino (Brahui)	Ano,(Tamil)	Today(English)
iv.	Parri(Brahui)	Porri (Tamil)	Stock (English)
v.	Kunnay(Brahui)	Hunnay (Tamil)	My (English)
vi.	Ne(Brahui)	Ne(Tamil)	You (English)
vii	Khun(Brahui)	Kun(Tamil)	Eye(English)
viii.	Tuff(Brahui)	Thup(Tamil)	Spit(English)
ix.	Tugh(Brahui)	Tunk(Tamil)	Dream/sleeping(English)
x.	Pollo(Brahui)	Polla(Tamil)	Empty/Weightless(English)
xi.	Khurkao(Brahui)	Kurkum(Tamil)	Snores(English)
xii.	Pagga (Brahui)	Pukum(Tamil)	Tomorrow(English)
xiii.	Dithar(Brahui)	Neeher(Tamil)	Blood(English)
xiv.	Mar(Brahui)	Magun(Tamil)	Son (English)
xv.	Malling(Brahui)	Mallar(Tamil)	To Open(English)
xvi.	Mur Mutting(Brahui)	Murr Murro (Tamil)	Murmur(English)
xvii.	Poh Manning (Brahui)	Pori(Tamil)	To understand(English)
xviii.	Mail(Brahvi)	May(Tamil)	Fighting /battle(English)
xix.	Mukhing(Brahui)	Makil (Tamil)	Laughing(English)
xx.	Planning(Brahui)	Parrahi(Tamil)	To Say(English)
xxi	Array (Brahui)	Arra(Malyalum)	O Man(English)
xxii	Darray (Brahui)	Arrwa(Malyalum)	Here(English)
xxiii	Baa(Brahui)	Wuh(Malyalum)	Come(English)

Sir Denys Bray (I.C.S) who served as a civil servant in Balochistan had presented some theories about the origin of Brahui language. One of the theories was that when Greeks occupied the Khurasan and Balochistan, the Brahui speaking people were living in the valley of Helmand and Brahuis were calling the same valley as "Baroyana" and the same name was changed and transformed into 'Brahui or Brohi'.

Professor Nadir Qambrani in his essay has written that some materials have been explored from Nadali and Bagram (Afghanistan) which include coins and images of the gods of mountains which are inscribed on the same and following words were written around those coins in *Kharoṣṭhī* script *'Maha Rajasa, Raja Raja sa, Dawapothrasa Kajola, Kafuzasa'*. If we change these words into Brahui definitely a Brahui speaking people understand these words.

Theories about the Dravidian origin of Brahui

Sir John Marshall, M.B Emeneau, Asko Parpola, G.R Hunter, Bishop Caldwell, M.S Andronov, Denys Bray, GR Garrison, Mark Kunnire, G.U Pope, *Ernest* Trumpp, Dr Ghulam Ali Allana, *Ainul Haq Fareed Koti*, Dr. Abul Alees *Siddiqui*, Muhammad Hassan Danni, Anwar Roman, Dr Inamul Haq Kausar , Kamil ul Qadri, Dr Abdul Rehman Brahui, Noor Muhammad Parwana, Dr Abdul Razzaq Sabir, Professor Javed Akhtar, Nazeer Ahmed Shakir Brahui are of the opinion that Brahui is a Dravidian language. MB Emeneau in his book Dravidian Etymological Dictionary has mentioned that there are 250 words which are common in Brahui and other Dravidian languages. Brahui language is being considered as a Dravidian language on the following grounds:

- The Syntax of other Dravidian languages and Brahui language has similarities.

- The other Dravidian languages and Brahui language have the same special alphabetical items i-e *Ta, Noon, Daal, Meem, Laam.*
- The other Dravidian languages and Brahui language have the same sound moods. For example: *ne, na, nuna, numa,kuna,aa,a,na ouna,ourkay,oudhay.*
- The other Dravidian languages and Brahui language have the same use of preposition in a sentence: *o, a, on.*
- Dravidian languages and Brahui language have words starting from S, are active. like *scholar, school, student*
- Dravidian languages and Brahui language have the same principles of changing from singular to plural. From *dhoo* (Hand)…*dhook* (Hands) use of *k*.
- Dravidian languages and Brahui language have the same words of *dhair* (Who)
- Dravidian languages and Brahui language have the same use of RR in feminine: *Eerr, mussirr, bulghurr, mulghurr.*
- Dravidian languages and Brahui language have almost the same type of words for parts of the body of human beings and animals.
- Dravidian languages and Brahui language have words with a similar structure for relations.

Father of Brahui language late Noor Muhammad *Parwana* has presented his opinion in his essay "Brahui Culture" that whether Brahui speaking people belong to a Dravidian race or not but it is certain that they belong to a different race than Baloch and Pashtun. In another paragraph he says that Brahui language may belong to the Dravidian family of languages but some Brahuis also speak Balochi. He has concluded that Brahuis have a compound civilization.

Dr. Trumpp, Sir Denys Bray, Caldwell, and Kamil-ul-Qadri are of the opinion that there are similarities among Brahui and Indian languages of *Telugu*, Malayalam, and

Tamil. English scholars support this idea on grounds that the composition of words of Dravidian and Brahui language has similarities.

Sir Denys Bray served in Sub Continent from 1898 to 1930 as I.C.S Officer and was posted in 1904 on different administrative positions of Kalat State as well as British Balochistan. He has thoroughly discussed the origin of Brahui language in his book (The Brahui Language) chapter one page numbers (08 to 19). Sir Denys Bray has highlighted following resemblances between Brahui and Dravidian languages:

- The argument of kinship rests on a surer foundation than a casual analogy of structure, the grammatical relations of the noun in Brahui are shown, as in Dravidian, by means of suffixes, and most, if not all, of the suffixes, whether expressive of case relations are of plural number, are traceable to the same source as Dravidian.
- Even more direct is the evidence of the pronoun, that faithful repository of the secret of languages; origin. Of the personal pronouns, the pronoun of the second person in both numbers is in essentials the same as in Dravidian, and the first person, the Dravidian relationship is discernible in the pronoun of the first person of the ravages wrought by phonetic decay.
- As in Dravidian, the ordinals in Brahui are formed from the Cardinals by means of suffixes.
- The most striking example of the relationship of Brahui and Dravidian case suffixes is to be found in the conjunctive.
- There can be but one verdict on this evidence. This verdict is not that Caldwell, who summoned up his final positions in the words "the Brahui language considered as a whole seems to be derived from the same source as the Punjabi and Sindhi, but it

> evidently contains a Dravidian element", but the converse, first suggested by Christian Lassen in the early days of the study of the language reasserted by Trumpp quarter of a century above. The Brahui language is sprung from the same source as the Dravidian language; it has freely absorbed alien vocabulary of Persian, Balochi, Sindhi, and other neighboring languages, but in spite of their inroads its grammatical system has preserved sturdy existence.

Professor Trotman has written in his book 'Dravidian Kinship' that about two lac Brahui living in areas of Pakistan i-e Kalat, Kairpur, Hyderabad districts are settled in the center of Turko-Iranian languages, although Brahui has similarities with Dravidian languages settled thousands of miles away from Brahui speaking areas.

Dr. Abdul Razzaq Sabir in his book 'Daravaristan' has minutely discussed the relation of Brahui with South Indian Dravidian languages after his study visit of South Indian Dravidian populated cities. Dr. Abdul Razzaq Sabir says:

> When we check the structure and roots of Brahui words; it is clearly a Dravidian language. According to research and facts of linguists, Brahui has been proved as Dravidian language. If someone does not agree with said theory then he has to present logic, proofs, and evidence otherwise he has to accept the theory that Brahui is a Dravidian language.

He further says that about 160 million people speak Dravidian languages in the world and 10% of the Dravidian speaking population is multilingual i.e. speak more than one language. Dravidian languages were declared as one language family in 1816 for the first time.

Brahui language is being spoken not only in Balochistan but also in upper Sindh, provinces of Helmand and Nimroz in Afghanistan and Irani Balochistan. Four larger Dravidian family languages are being spoken in the province of Tamil Nadu (India) and Sri Lanka as well. Linguists have concluded that there are 26 Dravidian languages and only Brahui is far away for not less than 800 miles from its sister Dravidian languages.

He further says that according to information available in the different quarters of Dravidian North Indian areas Brahui is the oldest Dravidian language. The similarities between Brahui and other Dravidian languages especially Tamil language discussed between Dr. Abdul Razzaq Sabir and Professor Panikera are given in Table: 1.

Professor Javed Akhtar states in his book "Brahui Zuban Kee Haqeeqat" that the civilization of Moen Jo Daro which was comprised of not only areas of Sindh but also the whole of Sub Continent, some areas of Balochistan, was located on west bank of River Indus. When Aryans appeared in this area the Dravidians were living in this region speaking different Dravidian languages. Attempts have been made to read and understand the writings / inscriptions on coins recovered from Harappa, *Moen Jo Daro, Chaoon Jo Daro,* and other archeological sites but results are unsatisfactory. Dr. Asko Parpola and his assistants belonging to Denmark have tried their best to read these inscriptions although they have not succeeded. However, they have reached on a conclusion that Brahui language being the mother of all the Dravidian languages is called a 'Proto- Dravidian language.

Sindhi linguists have claimed that one inscription found on remnants of Moen Jo Daro is the first poem of Sindhi language while the composition, root, and structure of words and sentences do not support their theory. The Poem (Arra Barra Kunkarra, Karrakari Mandharra) has similarities with words in Brahui language. A Brahui

speaking person may easily understand the meanings of these words. Now I would like to translate these words into Brahui language as under:

Arra (Array/ oh man)
Barra (Barrak/come),
Kunkarra (Kunkay/towards me),
KarraKarri (KarraKarra / slowly)
Mundharra (Mundarri/ used in Brahui folk poetry as a beloved person or who is a smart and beautiful girl/lady)

According to Wikipedia

The Dravidian languages are a language family spoken mainly in southern India and parts of eastern and central India as well as in northeastern Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, and overseas in other countries as such as Malaysia and Singapore.

The Dravidian languages with the most speakers are Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, and Kannada. There are also small groups of Dravidian-speaking scheduled tribes, who live beyond the mainstream communities, such as the Kurukh and Gond/ Gondi tribes.

It is often speculated that Dravidian languages are native to India. Epigraphically the Dravidian languages have been attested since the 2nd century BCE. Only two Dravidian languages are exclusively spoken outside India, Brahui in Pakistan and Dhangar- a dialect of Kurukh in Nepal. Dravidian place-names along the northwest coast, in Maharashtra, Goa, Gujarat, and to a lesser extent in Sindh, as well as Dravidian grammatical influence such as inclusivity in the Maratha, Konkani, Gujarati, and Marwari and to a lesser extent Sindhi languages, suggest that Dravidian languages were once spoken more widely across the Indian subcontinent.

There is no consensus as to whether Brahui is a relatively recent language introduced into Balochistan or

remnant of an older widespread Dravidian language family. Some scholars see it as a recent migrant language to its present region. They postulate that Brahui could only have migrated to Balochistan from central India after 1000 CE. The absence of any older Iranian (Avestan) loanwords in Brahui supports this hypothesis. The main Iranian contributor to Brahui vocabulary Balochi is a Northwestern Iranian language and moved to the area from the west only around 1000 CE. One scholar places the migration as late as the 13th or 14th century. However, a few scholars have hypothesized that Brahui is a remnant of a formerly widespread Dravidian language family that is believed to have been reduced or replaced during the influx of Iranian/Indo-Aryan languages upon their arrival in South Asia.

Conclusion

Although Sir Denys Bray, Dr. Abdul Rehman Brahui, Dr. Abdul Razzaq Sabir, Dr. Javed Akhtar, and Dr. Nazeer Ahmed Shakir support the idea that Brahui is a Dravidian language and there is no doubt in this theory but I would like to present the conclusion about the origin and developing of Brahui language as under:

Brahui and Balochi belong to the same race. Balochi speaking people entered Makran while Brahui speaking people entered from Chagai, defeated the Dravidian rulers of Kalat and entered into a matrimonial relationship with the Dravidian people of Kalat. Accordingly, Dravidian and Balochi languages were mixed up and a new language of "Brahui" was born due to the same relationship. People belonging to Brahui tribes speak different languages in different areas of Balochistan, i-e Muhammad Hassani, Sasoli, Mullazai, Sumalani, and Mengals of Kharan, Washuk and Makran Speak Balochi while same tribes living in areas of Nushki, Besima, Neemurgh, Kalat and Surab speak Brahui. This situation is evidence of the fact

that Brahui was born from mixture of Balochi, Persian and Dravidian languages about one thousand years ago and Dravidian being language of newborn children of newly migrated people replaced majority words of previous language of Balochs of Kalat and Chagai on the same principles of change of dialects after every forty kilometers and due to presence of distinct civilized Dravidians in Kalat.

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6

Teaching in Brahui Language

Dr. Tariq Rahman

Balochistan is a multilingual province in which Balochi, Brahui, Persian, Pashto, Saraiki, Jatki, Punjabi, and Urdu are spoken in addition to the elitist and official English. The present borders of Balochistan are a colonial legacy. The 'districts of Khurram, Pishin, and Sibi were taken from Afghanistan under the treaty of Gandamak dated 26 May 1879 between the British and the Amir of Afghanistan. It was, however, provided that these districts 'shall not be considered as permanently severed from the limits of the Afghan Kingdom' (Article 9 of the Treaty in Ahmad, S. I. 1992: 405). Zhob and Loralai, between the Amir's borders and British India (Adm Rep-B 1888: 5), were inhabited by 'Afghan tribes'. This area was, and is, predominantly Pashto-speaking.

According to European scholars such as Bray, Brahui 'reveals a clear and unmistakable resemblance to the Dravidian languages of Southern India' (Bray 1913: 178). But even Bray was not sure whether the Brahui people are also Dravidians (ibid. 181). According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica,* there is a nucleus of eight Brahui tribes to which other people have been affiliated so that the number of tribes has swelled to twenty-nine. These tribes were loosely united under the rule of the Khan of Kalat, whose family rose to power under Khan Mir Naseer Khan (1750-1795) until 1947 when the Khanate became a part of Pakistan (*Britannica* 2: 464).

The origin of the Brahuis, even more than their

language, is an enigma. However, Justice Khudabaksh Marri asserts that the Brahuis are 'one of the many early tribes of Balochs' (Marri 1974: 110) and that many of them, including the ruling family of Kalat, use the term 'Baloch' with their names (ibid. 230). However, he opines that there is some Dravidian blood in them (ibid. 13). This is disputed by many, including Nasser Brohi who wrote a book passionately arguing that the Brahuis are not Dravidians and that the Baloch and the Brahuis 'must have a common origin' (Brohi 1977: 101).

More recently, '*Kurdgal Namik*', a book written in 1659 by Akhund Saleh Mohammad, a minister in the court of Mir Ahmad Khan I, the Khan of Kalat, has been held up as proof by both Baloch and Brahui intellectuals that they are one people. The book asserts that the Baloch are Kurds and that the Brahuis, called Brakhuis, are one of the tribes of Kurds (Mohammad 1659).

However, the book merely asserts its claims without offering any proof of events which are supposed to have occurred several centuries earlier. What it does prove is that there was a desire in the seventeenth century to emphasize the common origin of Brahui and Baloch tribes. Perhaps the reason then was that, at that time, Brahui ruler was ruling over Balochi-speaking people and the myth of common origin could help in consolidating his rule. Today, both Baloch and Brahui speakers also stand to gain if they are treated as one people.

According to Janmahmad, the demand for the recognition of Brahui was raised 'with official patronage' at the Regional Languages Conference in Lahore in 1961 (1989: 260). Later, in 1972, the Brahui Students Federation made efforts for the promotion of Brahui. Today, merely anecdotal evidence is available of their efforts. However, according to Abdullah Jan Jamaldini, Brahui was promoted as part of the Balochi language movement from the 1950s. Even at the time, some pages of the monthly

Balochi were devoted to Brahui. Later, when Radio Pakistan Quetta started functioning in 1966, Brahui was given time on it, along with Balochi. In the same year, the Brahui Academy was formed. It had and continues to have, members who are also active in the Balochi Academy (Jamaldini Int: 5 June 1994). There is, at present, a Brahui Literary Society and a Brahui Orthographic Committee as well as the Brahui Academy in Quetta. However, they work in partnership with the institutions meant for the promotion of Balochi. *Eilum*, a Brahui-Urdu weekly which started publication in 1960 (Brohi 1977: 113), exhorts the government to promote both Brahui and Balochi (*Eilum* 17 May 1994). Another example of cooperation is the establishment of the languages section within the Department of Pakistan Studies at Balochistan University. MA courses in Balochi, Brahui, and Pashto were started in 1987, and academics make efforts to promote research in both Balochi and Brahui (Sabir Int: 08 June 1994).

Earlier Brahui literature

The earliest book of Brahui which exists today is *Khidmat-e-Deen*. It is a book on advice and instructions of a religious nature of a hundred pages probably written in 1693. After this, there are magical spells and cures in Brahui till we come to a major work known as Malik Dad Kalati's *Tuhfat ul Ajaib*. The book is said to have been completed in July 1760 but the manuscript is missing. The printed edition dates from 1882. It appears that, while Balochi and Brahui might have been used as informal media of instruction and explanation for pupils, they were not the formal languages of scholarship or religious propagation until the British arrival. The British unwittingly promoted the acquisition of these languages in Balochistan in two ways. First, they made formal arrangements to examine their officers in them. And second, they allowed the missionaries to preach

and translate the Bible into them. This made the Islamic 'clergymen', the *Ulema*, apprehensive of losing the Brahui and Baloch to Christianity and they too started writing in Balochi and Brahui.

Language and the Islamic resistance

The coming of British rule to Balochistan appears to have evoked a less antagonistic intellectual response than the earlier arrival of the missionaries. The missionaries printed the Bible in Balochi written in the Persian script, as early as 1815 (Catalogue 1832: 105). Later, in 1884 A. Lewis translated St Matthew's Gospel and, from 1899, T. J. Lee Mayer's series of translations from the Bible started appearing in the Roman script (Grierson Vol. 2: 334-5). In response to these translations, which made Brahui and Baloch *Ulema* feel that the Islamic faith of their people was in danger, the first anti-British intellectual movement started in the 1880s.

This movement, the Durkhani movement, was inspired and pioneered by Maulana Mohammad Fazil who was from Durkhan, a village near Dhadhar which is now called Fazil Abad. The Maulana is said to have called a gathering of the *ulema* in Dhadhar in 1883 and it was decided that they would translate religious books into Balochi and Brahui. Such books were in Persian or Arabic, but it was now felt that they would be more effective in countering missionary propaganda if they were available in the indigenous languages (Qambrani 1990: 18-21; Shahwani 1993).

The *Maktaba-e-Durkhani* (the Durkhani School) is said to have produced a fairly large number of books. Exact numbers are disputed, but Shahwani lists 339 books, out of which 210 are in Brahui and 91 in Balochi. In this list, there are also 15 books in Persian, 10 in Arabic, 5 in Urdu, and 2 in Sindhi (Shahwani 1993:63).

The work by the *Maktaba-e-Durkhani* can be described as a movement for spreading religious awareness among

the Baloch to counter Christianity. Since the missionaries had translated the Bible in the local languages between 1905 to 1907, there was apprehension among the *Ulema* that Christianity would spread among the Brahui and Baloch. The translation of Quran, therefore, became available in Brahui in 1914 and in Balochi in 1949. Other texts of a religious nature too became available in these languages. These texts also served to spread literacy in Brahui and Balochi.

It is not known whether these books were used as additional reading material in the *madrassas* – where the core curriculum was based on the *Dars-i-Nizami* – but what is certain is that they were read out among the common people. According to Abdullah Jan Jamaldini, one of the foremost pioneers of Balochi and Brahui languages in contemporary times, he used to hear the *Durrul Majeedi* in Brahui read out in a sing-song voice when he was a child. A certain blind man was famous for his recitation in the bazaar. Women, some of whom were literate in the Quran, also read it out to others. In short, literacy in Balochi and Brahui was facilitated by the presence of books in these languages. As the people learned the written languages themselves, this was a classic case of voluntary language-learning.

Balochi/Brahui language movement

It was, indeed, Quetta rather than Karachi which became the center of the Balochi/Brahui language movements from the sixties onwards. From the late fifties onwards, the radio also started relaying programs in Balochi from Quetta, and more publications came to be centered in Quetta. With the establishment of the Brahui Academy in Quetta in 1966, that city became firmly established as the center of the Baloch/Brahui linguistic and literary renaissance.

The government of Pakistan, which used Urdu as a

symbol of integration, continued to encourage the use of Urdu, so that by 1972 when the coalition government of the NAP and the JUI took power in Balochistan, all educated Brahui and Baloch knew Urdu. The poet and nationalist, Mir Gul Khan Naseer, was the Minister of Education, while Sardar Ataullah Mengal from the NAP was the Chief Minister. Thus, the order of the Governor, who was none other than the well-known nationalist, Ghaus Baksh Bizenjo (Harrison 1981: 52-61), declaring Urdu as the language of official correspondence and routine office work appears paradoxical (Order in Kausar 1986: 15-6). The order was issued after a discussion in the cabinet but not in the Legislative Assembly. The paradox has never been fully explained, but it is a significant landmark in ethno-nationalist politics, and opinions about it need to be recorded.

According to Janmahmad, the Baloch leaders, mindful of the Pathan role, proceeded very cautiously. They reluctantly decided to declare Urdu the official language of the province, not because they had any love for the language or because Urdu had any place in the province's social and political life at all, but because adopting Balochi as the official language would have been severely opposed by the Pashtuns, who would have demanded that their tongue should also be given official status (1989: 292).

Harrison's opinion is different. According to him it 'was partly to deflect Brahui pressures that Bizenjo and Mengal agreed to the designation of Urdu ... [as the official language of Balochistan] ... thus providing a pretext for temporarily setting aside the choice between Baluchi, Brahui, and Pushtu' (1981: 185).

Politics and the script

The need for a standard script for Balochi and Brahui was felt from the beginning of the language movement, in the

early 1950s. Both Brahui and Balochi had been written earlier but, in the absence of language planning bodies and the pressure of commercial printing, spellings and script had not been standardized.

The earliest known handwritten manuscripts are in the Arabic script. In Brahui, the earliest work is said to be *Khidmat Deen*. It contains religious and moral precepts and is dated between 1293 and 1294 (Qambrani 1990: 14). The best-known work is Mulla Malik Dad Kalati's *Tuhfat ul Ajaib*, again a religious work, written sometime between 1759 and 1760 and printed by the Durkhani school in 1882 (Sabir 1990: 37; Qambrani 1990: 16).

All these manuscripts, as well as the works of the Durkhani School, were in *naskh*. However, the Durkhani language planners created 53 graphemes for Balochi and 54 for Brahui, some of them especially modified to express the sounds of these languages (Sabir 1990: 38). Other graphemes, numbering from a total of twenty-five to forty-nine, were also decided upon (Sabir 1990: 39-42).

The most significant step taken in support of the indigenous languages was a bill to make them—i.e. Balochi, Brahui, and Pashto—compulsory media of instruction at the primary level (i.e., classes 1, 2, and 3) in rural schools (LAD-Bal 21 June and 15 April 1990). The bill, called 'The Balochistan Mother Tongue Use Bill, No. 6 of 1990' provided that these three indigenous languages would be used as compulsory media of instruction in 'institutions in the areas prescribed by the Government'.

A letter of the Education Department (Letter No. 3-6/79-E of 3 August) exempted elitist schools from the Act so that they could continue to use English as before. In short, the experiment was to be confined to the rural areas, the peripheries, the underprivileged, and would not extend to the elite. Moreover, as these languages would not open up the possibilities of jobs, they were ghettoizing. This could hardly motivate parents to be enthusiastic

about them.

The activists of the language movements were, however, very enthusiastic. They sat on committees to prepare textbooks for classes 1 and 2, using words from both the Eastern and Western dialects of Balochi. Teachers were trained and the Balochistan Textbook Board published textbooks for primary classes. On 8 November 1992, during the chief ministership of Taj Muhammad Jamali in a Pakistan Muslim League government, a cabinet decision resulted in the discontinuation of the experiment. The order is as follows:

> It was unanimously decided by the cabinet that the local languages shall be adopted as optional subjects in educational institutions throughout the province (No. SO. CAB-4-359/92 [SRGAD]/827, Government of Balochistan).

The order merely made instruction in MT optional, but in practice, it stopped altogether since parents did not want their children to spend their time and energy on languages which would ghettoize them. Moreover, the Textbook Board was asked not to produce any more books in these languages; nor were the teachers imparted any further training (information given by officials of the Board and interviewees).

The experiment was suddenly stopped. Baloch intellectuals reacted vehemently. Saba Dashtiari, an academic and supporter of the Balochi language movement, wrote open letters to politicians, journalists, writers, and editors, exhorting them to protest against this unjust decision (1992; 1993a; 1993b). The January 1993 issue of the Brahui magazine *Tawar* was dedicated to this subject and carried interviews of Bahadur Khan, Nadir Qambrani, Razzak Sabir, Gul Bangulzai—all supporters of Balochi and Brahui—in which the speakers protested against the decision. Most writers called this decision a conspiracy of

the bureaucracy (Tigri 1993).

The opponents of MT education pointed to multilingualism and lack of standardization in Balochi as the main impediments to teaching in it. The use of words from both dialects of Balochi and lack of standardization in the textbooks of classes 1 and 2, as pointed out by Kalgi (1992) and Ghamshad (1992) among others, was seen as a major hurdle. The supporters of MT felt strongly that language planning and official support was needed to overcome these problems (Mengal 1993: 24-8). The supporters of Pashto also supported mother tongue education in principle since it would also contribute to the preservation of the Pakhtun identity.

This debate continues even today. The activists of the Balochi/Brahui language movements are trying to mobilize public opinion in favor of making education in the mother tongue compulsory again. Notwithstanding the lack of enthusiasm on the part of parents, all MT supporters feel that the very existence of young people educated in Balochi and Brahui will improve the future prospects of their languages, as these people will have access to literature written in these languages. Above all, future generations may then eventually form a pressure group, which could increase the use of the mother tongues in other domains. This is at present probably the most compelling argument in favor of MT education.

Apart from creating new words and publishing a number of books and journals, the activists of the language movements have at least once introduced the languages in schools. Even at present, Balochi and Brahui are used for the religious diplomas of *Adeeb Alim* and *Adeeb Fazil*. They are optional subjects in the provincial and central civil services examinations and can be taken as a subject of examination in matriculation. They are also taught at the MA level in the University of Balochistan since 1987. Above all, perhaps, the activists of the language

movements have succeeded in removing the cultural shame that was felt about using Balochi and Brahui, which existed before the movement started. This cultural shame is attested to through many sources. In the case of Brahui, Bray writes:

> There is a very general feeling among his (the ordinary Brahuis) neighbors that Brahui is a strange language, a jargon too uncouth for 'gentility', and the feeling is shared in some measure by the Brahuis themselves, who do not hesitate to employ Baluchi or Pashto on the slightest excuse (Bray 1913: 176).

Of Balochi, Naimatullah Gichki told Carina Jahani that 'he and his Baloch fellow students were even ashamed of speaking Balochi to each other', let alone using it in writing, and that it is only in the past twenty to twenty-five years that this negative attitude towards Balochi has changed (Jahani 1989: 97).

Conclusion

Brahui has been part of the markers of ethnic identity in Balochistan. Despite the fact that jobs are not available in it, language activists have kept up production of material in it. However, government policies have not encouraged education and printing in it. The Durkhani School which printed religious pamphlets and *Shariah* guidebooks in it did so because of the fear of the spread of Christianity in Balochistan. Unfortunately, most of these books have not been preserved. Brahui, as well as Balochi pamphlets, are used to create and support pride in Baloch ethnic identity.

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7

German Scholars' Contribution towards the Promotion of Brahui Language

Sikander Brohi

Pakistan is a multilingual country, where more than 72 languages are being spoken.[1] Brahui is one of the key languages of the country. According to the linguists, Brahui is the oldest language of the Indus Civilization.[2] Although it has adopted many words from Persian, Sindhi, and Balochi, however, it has never allowed changes in its basic grammar. There is also consensus among the majority of the linguists that in fact, Brahui language belongs to Southwestern group of Dravidian languages. German scholar Christian Lassen was the first linguist who first time declared Brahui as a Dravidian language. He studied Brahui language and speech forms and, after its comparative study with the Dravidian languages, came with the opinion that Brahui basically belonged to the Dravidian family of languages. Similarly, According to Josef Elfenbein (1989), the most common theory is that the Brahui were part of a Dravidian invasion of north-western India in 3rd millennium BC, but unlike other Dravidians who migrated to the south, they

1. https://dailytimes.com.pk/105680/ideology-language-attitudes-and-the-status-of-punjabi/
2. https://archive.org/stream/DECIPHERINGINDUSSCRIPTDRNABALOCH/DECIPHERING%20INDUS%20SCRIPT%20DR%20N%20A%20BALOCH_djvu.txt

remained in Sarawan and Jhalawan since before 2000 BC. [3] The renowned linguist Dr. Asko Parpola writes in his research paper "Deciphering the Indus Script":

On the present evidence, then the North Dravidian branch consists of just two sub-branches Brahui, Kurukh and Malto. Brahui, of course, has diverged from Kurukh and Malto much more than they have from each other.[4]

Similarly, noted Russian Scholar Dr. M.S Andronov writes in his paper titled, "The Brahui Language":

> According to the modern conception, Brahui belongs to the northwestern group of Dravidian languages. It is apparently most closely related to the northeastern group of these languages, which includes Malto and Kurukh. Brahui is related more distantly to the Gondwana group, which includes Kui, Krvi, Monda, Penga, Konda, and Gondi and still more distantly to the central group which includes Pargi, Gadaba, Kolami, and Naiki. The languages of the South Western (Telugu), those of the southern group Kuruba, Kannada, Kodagu, Kota, Toda, Kurru, Malayalam and Tamil are most distantly related to Brahui. [5]

Renowned woman writer and journalist Sylvia Matheson who received a great name and fame after writing the book titled, 'Tigers of Balochistan' has written in the same book that Brahuis, the darker –skinned race than Balochis, are all the remains of the original Dravidian inhabitants of the country, most of whom were pushed to

3. Josef Elfenbein, "BRAHUI," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, IV/4, pp. 433-443, available online at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/brahui (accessed on 30 December 2012).
4. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/245845917_Deciphering_the_Indus_Script
5. https://archive.org/stream/rosettaproject_brh_detail-3/rosettaproject_brh_detail-3_djvu.txt

South India by successive waves of Aryan invaders. [6]

Sir John Marshal in his book *Mohen Jo Daro and the Indus Civilization Vol-I (1931),* write as under*:*

> Dravidians of India, who, though now restricted to the South of India, are believed on linguistic and ethnological grounds to have once populated virtually the whole of the peninsula, including the Panjab, Sind, and Baluchistan, where, as is well known, the Dravidian speech is still preserved in the language of Brahuis. [7]

The Western scholars have greatly contributed towards the promotion and preservation of Brahui language, literature, culture as well as history. Not only did the English scholars work on Brahui language but the scholars of other nations including Russians, French, as well as Germans have also played a key role in the promotion and preservation of Brahui language. This paper presents a brief review of the scholarly work of German scholars on Brahui language.[8] It is very interesting to note that the German scholar diverted their attention towards Brahui language very soon after the British scholars started working on this ancient language. For example, we find that the first comprehensive work of any British scholar on Brahui language is of Lt R. Leech's work titled 'Epitome of the Grammars of the Brahuiky, Balochky and Punjabi Languages: With Vocabularies of the Baraky, Pashi, Laghmani, Cashgari, Teerhai, and Deer Dialects; published in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1838. After the period of only five years, we find the work of German scholar Christian Lassen in 1844 in Brahui language. Some of the earlier works of the German

6. https://archive.org/details/rosettaproject_brh_vocab-1/page/n3
7. https://www.abebooks.com/9781130167313/Epitome-grammars-Brahuiky-Balochky-Panjabi-1130167313/plp
8. https://archive.org/stream/rosettaproject_brh_detail-3/rosettaproject_brh_detail-3_djvu.txt

scholars on Brahui language are detailed as under:

Studies on the ethnographical position of Brahuis and their language

This seems to be the first ever scholarly work done on Brahui language by any German scholar. This basic work on the ethnographical position of Brahui language was done by Mr. Christian Lassen (October 22, 1800 – May 8, 1876). Mr. Lassen was a Norwegian-born orientalist and professor of Old Indian language and literature at the University of Bonn. He was born at Bergen, Norway. Having received a university education at Oslo, he went to Germany and continued his studies at the University of Heidelberg and the University of Bonn. In Bonn, Lassen acquired a sound knowledge of Sanskrit.[9] He spent three years in Paris and London, engaged in copying and collating manuscripts, and collecting materials for future research, especially with reference to Hindu drama and philosophy.

On his return to Bonn, he studied Arabic, and took the degree of Ph.D., his dissertation discussing the Arabic notices of the geography of Punjab (*Commentario geographic historical de Pentapotamia Indica*, Bonn, 1827).[10] Soon after, he was admitted *Privatdozent*, and in 1830 was appointed extraordinary and in 1840 ordinary professor of Old Indian language and literature. In spite of a tempting offer from Copenhagen, in 1841, Lassen remained faithful to the University of his Adoption to the end of his life. In 1844, he wrote a paper titled, "Untersuchungen ueber die ethnographische stellung der vonlker im westen indiens.die Brahui und ihre sprache / Studies on the ethnographical position of the indigenous people of India - the Brahui and their language. This article was published in Vol.5. Of Zeitschriftfuer die kunde des morgenlaendes (Magazine

9. https://www.revolvy.com/page/Christian-Lassen
10. https://wikivividly.com/wiki/Christian_Lassen

for the customer of tomorrow morning) from page.337 to 409.[11] In this paper, Dr. Lassen first time declared the Brahui language as a Dravidian language. After Lassen, Robert Caldwell analyzed his hypothesis. Then M.B Emeneau, M.S. Andronov, and Denys Bray had also claimed that the Brahui language is a branch of a Dravidian family of languages.

Grammatical studies on the language of Brahuis

This was the second scholarly work on Brahui language undertaken by another German scholar Dr. Ernest Trumpp (1828-1885). Dr. Trumpp was, in fact, a great scholar of the Pakistani languages. His scholarly works include the first comprehensive study of Sindhi (1872), deep and thought-provoking studies of Pashto (1873), and a solid research into medieval Punjabi. He also left a number of unpublished collections on other north-west Indian idioms, such as Kashmiri and Nepali. [12]

Trumpp was born on 13 March 1828 at Ilsfeld in Wurtemberg province (now Baden-Württemberg) in Germany. As a young man, he migrated to London as a consequence of political upheaval and found employment as an assistant librarian at the East India House (later known as India Office), headquarters of British East India Company.

After joining the Church Mission Society, he was asked to go to India for an intense study of modern Indian languages and to compose their grammars and dictionaries for use by future missionaries. So he left for India and reached Karachi in 1854. He has left a most precious treasure of studies on the languages of Pakistan which are still fundamental for our understanding of the grammatical structure of Sindhi, Pashto, old Punjabi, Brahui, and other languages.

11. Ibid
12. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ernest_Trumpp

Dr. Ernest Trumpp's work on Brahui language is concerned mainly with Brahui Grammar. He presented his work to the Munich Academy of Sciences in December 1880. His research paper titled' "Grammatische Untersuchungen über die Sprache der Brahuis" (Grammatical studies on the language of Brahuis) was published in 1881 By Munchen: Akademische Buchdruckerei von F. Straub / Munchen. [13]

In his scholarly work on Brahui language Dr. Trumpp attempted to establish a grammatical structure of Brahui, by comparing it with the Dravidian idioms on the one hand, and with the neighboring Balochi and Sindh languages on the other. Although he was at first inclined to class Brahui language with the Kolarian group, he finally came to the conclusion that it must, after all, be of Dravidian origin. Writing about Brahui grammar and the position of Brahui language in philology Dr. Trumpp has opined:

> I hope that by comparing this language with the Dravidian idioms on the one hand and on the other with its neighbors the Balochi and Sindhi languages, I may have succeeded in establishing the grammatical structure of Brahui language as well as its position in philology.
> With the scanty material at my disposal, I cannot claim for my investigations anything like completeness; they are intended rather as a guide to others who may have the opportunity and advantage of prosecuting the study of the Brahui, in the country of that people"[14]

Dr. Trumpp is fully convinced that the Brahui is a language belonging to the Dravidian family. Later on, English adaptation of his remarkable work on Brahui

13. Ibid
14. Ibid

language was done by Dr. Theodor Duka. This was published in the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland" Vol XIX Part I. and has been reprinted as "An Essay on the Brahui Grammar by Dr. Theodor Duka. (London, Trubner & Co.). Dr. Theodor Duka expresses his views about Brahuis asunder in his paper:

> Brahuis have probably driven away from their ancient abode on the Lower Indus towards the inhospitable and inclement mountainous region of Middle Balochistan, where they hold their own to this day against the encroachment of Balochi from the west. Notwithstanding the high altitude of their domicile and the cold climate in which they live, the Brahui have retained a dark complexion, which distinguishes them at once from their immediate neighbors, the Jat and the Balochi. Many of them live in Sindh, and all retain the distinguishing peculiarities of their race, namely, the olive-colored skin, a feeble middle sized frame and a dark, thin beard. [15]

German Brahui Dictionary

Mr. Ferdinand Bork is another German scholar who also contributed towards the promotion and preservation of Brahui language. He has prepared a small dictionary of German and Brahui languages. This author had visited Germany some years back and during his search for documents about Brahui language in a German library had found this document. The dictionary is titled as

15. Duka, T. (1887). An Essay on the Brāhūī Grammar, after the German of the Late Dr. Trumpp, of Munich University. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 19*(1), new series, 59-135. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable /25208853

'*Vorarbeiten zu einem Brahui-Wörterbuch*' (Preparatory work for a Brahui dictionary). It was published in 1908.

Mr. Ferdinant Bork was the German scholar of Ancient Near East, also interested in Indo-Iranian. He matriculated in 1892. Studies at Königsberg, till 1896. He worked as a teacher in Konitz and from 1905 in sKönigsberg, where also further studied at the university. He opines about Brahui language in his dictionary :

> The Brahui, belonging to the Dravidian language family, shows, as I shall elsewhere explain, relations with Caucasus-speaking circles. I have not always been able to prove the exact origin of the countless foreign words, because I am not at home in the Indian-Iranian language world.

Consisted of 30 pages, German Brahui Dictionary of Mr. Ferdinand Bork is a valuable asset as it not only carries the meaning of Brahui words in German but also in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada as well as Malayalam, the key languages belonging to the family of Dravidian languages. Therefore, it can be called as Brahui, German, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam Dictionary.

Historical account of Brahui kingdom

German scholars have not only undertaken scholarly work on Brahui language but we can also find some very important research work on Brahui history by the German Scholars. One of such research work/book is titled as 'Kelat: the Brahui Kingdom on the southern border of Iran' written by Emil Schlagintweit (1835-1904).[16] Although this book is not directly related to Brahui language, however, it must be an interesting read carrying the historical account of Brahui rule. In the heydays of the strong Brahui rulers, the geographical boundaries of Brahui Kalat state were

16. http://nationallibrary.gov.in/showdetails.php?id=689701

much beyond the geographical boundaries of the present-day Balochistan.

In fact, Mr. Emil Schlagintweit was famous for his work on Buddhism in Tibet. Mr. Schlagintweit was the youngest of the five Schlagintweit brothers of Munich. His father was a wealthy eye-surgeon, his mother died when he was quite young, and he was tutored by Franz Joseph Lauth, later a noted Egyptologist. The brothers' interest in exploration was sparked by Alexander von Humboldt's *Cosmos*, the first volume of which appeared in 1845, and which led to their explorations of the Alps and in turn to Asia's mountains.[17]

After his brother Hermann's death in 1882, he inherited Schloß Jägersburg, their large estate near Forchheim, and the brothers' collections and papers. Not an explorer himself, he sold 102 Tibetan manuscripts and block-books collected by his brothers to the Bodleian Library at Oxford University where they remain.[18] His book' Kelat: The Brahui Kingdom the Southern Border of Iran' was published by Simla, Govt. Central Branch Press in 1876. This book was translated into the English language by Mr. F. Henvey.[19]

Conclusion

Like British scholars, the German scholars' key objective was to facilitate their religious missionary to make inroads in the Brahui population through knowing and learning their language and culture. However, whatever the objectives behind this work, it has greatly contributed towards the promotion of Brahui language. It is assumed that the work of the Germans on Brahui language is not limited to the examples given in this paper. There are possibilities of the existence of the more scholarly work by

17. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emil_Schlagintweit
18. Ibid
19. Ibid

the German scholars, which is still buried in the libraries of Germany. There is a greater need for more research on this topic to bring forth the remaining scholarly work of the German scholars on Brahui language on the limelight.

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8

Brahui Folktale Chanjal: The Story of a Great Human Love for a Pet

Sultan Ahmed Shahwani

The folklore of any language is considered one of the most important elements of the cultural identity of the people who speak that language. But unfortunately folklore is mostly neglected by the mainstream in these modern times, and this is certainly true of the Brahui folklore.

Brahui is one of the ancient languages of the Subcontinent. Some scholars claim it to be around 5000 years old. Despite Brahui's own set of linguistic characteristics, UNESCO has warned that it has become an endangered language. Lack of government patronage is a chief reason for the endangered status of the language. This is also perhaps why the best Brahui folktales, such as Chanjal, are still obscure in the literary world today.

Chanjal, the eponymous central character of the poem, is a female camel, which possesses extraordinary qualities. The 360-stanza epic poem revolves around the association between Chanjal and her owner, who shows a deep association and love for Chanjal. The poem originated in the Moola area, which is marked by rugged terrain and poverty. In this land, where people strive hard for basic survival, a man who dedicated all his time and resources to taming and caring for his camel presented a fascinating story. This love and affection between owner and pet bestow a special charm to the poetry.

Chanjal is a part of the Brahui oral tradition and it ensures the passage of Brahui culture across generations. It

is difficult to translate Chanjal and its rhythmic flow to other languages. The images have been transformed into words so beautifully that the poem not only depicts a true picture of the past but also transports the listeners to that era.

The reciprocal response of affection by Chanjal towards her master shows the importance of animals in the ancient society of Brahui tribes and also the perfection of their art of taming the animals. Saleh Muhammad, the owner of Chanjal, fully involves himself in the caring of Chanjal and when Chanjal is stolen and sold in a remote area to a powerful man, Saleh keeps searching for her for nine long years. He is denied access to the camel and even inhumane deeds are perpetrated against him to stop him from his pursuit. Despite all these odds, he does not yield and finally gets Chanjal back by delving in mysticism.

The verses uttered by Saleh Muhammad for Chanjal are lyrical and balladic. The contribution of Chanjal to the linguistic survival of Brahui is the folktale's literary achievement. It is a literary asset of Brahui language and proof that the Brahui people developed a specific culture in their landlocked region. It can and should inspire the younger generation to love their culture and take pride in their language. Folktales of all Pakistani languages are actually national assets, which add beauty and diversity to our collective heritage. Chanjal is, therefore, a national asset and it deserves to be preserved.

9

Translation of Novels in Brahui language

Nadir Shahwani

Introduction

A novel is a long, fictional narrative which describes intimate human experiences. The novel in the modern era usually makes use of a literary prose style, and the development of the prose novel at this time was encouraged by innovations in printing, and the introduction of cheap paper, in the 15th century. Actually, novel writing is a theme which lets a writer proliferate his/her approaches by bringing various social and domestic issues which are hooked up with the homeland and its allied surroundings. Novel writing is a fascinating sphere which is more likely to create awareness among the general public, whereas the novelist tends to inspire the people by deeply writing on various subject areas.

Brahui language

At present people around the world speak approximately six thousand languages and as per the latest concept, Brahui language belongs to a south-western group of Dravidian languages. In 1970, a Russian linguistic expert M.S Andronov wrote as under:

> According to the modern conception, Brahui belongs to the north-western group of the Dravidian languages. It is apparently most closely related to the northeastern group of these languages, which includes Malto and

> Kurukh. Brahui is related to the Gondwana group, which includes Kui, Kuvi, Manda, Pengo, Kanda, and Gondi, and still more distantly to the central group, which includes Parji (Gadaba, Kalami, and Naiki. The languages of the South-eastern group "Telugu", those of the south-western group (Kerage, Bellari, and Tulu) and those of the southern group (Kuruba, Cannada, Kodagu, Kota, Toda, Kurukh, Malayalam, and Tamil) are most distantly related to Brahui.

On the other hand, Dr. Abdul Rahman Brahui accepting the Denys Bray theory writes:

> Brahui belongs to Dravidians group and it frequently adopted the most of the words of Persian, Balochi, Sindhi, and other neighboring languages but never accepted any change in its grammar. Besides, Denys Bray, most of the experts have agreed on the point that original Brahui Grammar is still as it is since long and no other languages' grammars have put any impact on it.

Although Brahui is the oldest language, however, in fact, its old written literature is not available due to a variety of reasons. The first reason being that the folk literature has yet not been made available in written/book form due to illiteracy of Brahui tribes and secondly their main profession was, in fact, tending flocks and keeping livestock and their favorite places were hilly areas as well as mountains where they used to live a nomadic life. At that time there was no schooling system over there. Thirdly, Brahuis usually remained in travel in the need of grazing grounds as per environmental prediction about rains and climatic conditions. Due to the above

circumstance, their folk literature was not compiled and transferred to the next generation hence the Brahui folk literature has mostly disappeared.

Influence of Persian on Brahui

Being the fond of mountain and hilly areas, Brahuis usually have been choosing the same areas for themselves and for their cattle etc. thus remained uneducated mostly. In the far-flung areas, there were some *Madrassas* and the education was imparted in Arabic and the main source of education was the *Mulla* and they were well familiar with Persian reading and writing. The main reason of popularity of Persian was that the various books of poetry and religious literature were available easily in these areas and secondly their poetry and messages about life were very remarkable and as a result, Persian became the most popular language of the area. In the light of above narrations, it was experienced that official language of Kalat State was Persian as well as all the documentation of agreements regarding purchase/sale of property were officially conducted in the Persian language. As such the Brahui masses also adopted the same language. Resultantly, there is a sufficient influence of Persian language on Brahui language.

Translation of novels in Brahui language

In 1986 Prof: Aziz Mengal translated an English novel titled, 'Old Man and Sea' written by *Ernest* Miller Hemingway in Brahui language with Brahui title 'Peeranga –O-Samander', which has over 146 pages. Gul Bangulzai has translated '*Fat of Man'* of Michael Sholokhov into Brahui language with the title *'Insan Na Naseeb'*. Similarly, he has also translated the famous novel of *Maxim Gorky* titled 'Luma' in Brahui language. Another best translation of Gul Bangulzai is the translation of the novel of Voltaire with the title 'Kandeed'. Mr. Gul

Bangulzai is, in fact, the first writer who wrote first Brahui novel namely 'Dreeho' in 1989. The main theme of the novel is based on the cultural life of the Brahuis.

Prof. Sosan Brahui has translated the Agha Gul's novel *'Dasht-e-Wafa'* into Brahui language with the title *'Mehr Aata Deh'*. Prof. Sosan has also translated another novel of Agha Gul titled 'Baboo'. This book was published in 2006. The third novel translated by Pro. Sosan Brahui is 'Beebul' which is the translation of Agha Gul's novel 'Bela'. Noor Mohammed Pirkani has translated one of the best short stories of Sindhi writer Amar Jaleel titled *'Tareekh Jo Kafan'* into Brahui language. This book has been published by Brahui Academy with the title *'Tareekh Na Kafan'*. The other Brahui writers who have come up with the translations of the novels of other regional and international languages also include Waheed Zaheer, Afzal Murad, Khadim Lehri, Nadir Shahwani, Neelam Momal, Tahira Ehsas, Jahan Ara Tabassum, and others.

Conclusion

In fact, the translation plays a vital role in any literature which boosts up the canvas of readers. In this way, the reader is able to make the necessary comparison between his own and other neighborhood cultures customs and norms. Whereas from the beginning till now, the trend of translation in Brahui literature is intact but the pace is slow, however, this approach of translation of best novels of other languages in Brahui language has provided a great benefit to Brahui readers as well as Brahui literature. Keeping in view the importance of translation in the light of international scenario, the related academies and societies should promote such trend as to bring outstanding literature for Brahui readers, so that a bright and solid literature is grown up in the Brahui language and Brahui land.

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10

Software Based Transliteration of Dravidians, Sindhi Script and Future of Brahui Language

Ali Hassan Mallah

Though the terms 'transcription' and 'transliteration' are often used interchangeably, in a technical sense transcription means the writing of the sounds of one language in the script of another language (and though strictly phonetic transcription employs the use of a technical code such as the International Phonetic Alphabet, simple transcription employs no code other than the basic alphabet of the language in which it is written and is, therefore, less precise), whereas transliteration means the writing of the script of one language in the script of another language using diacritic marks (or some other device) where necessary to indicate precisely how each word is spelled in the original script. Thus when a word from a language such as Tamil or Brahui is transcribed in Telugu script no diacritical characters are used to indicate precisely how it is spelled in its original form. But when a word from such a language is transliterated in Latin script, a specific code employing diacritical characters is used to indicate precisely how the word is spelled in its original script.

People often misunderstand the importance of transliteration in any given language, usually; people don't realize the important and crucial help of transliteration until they encounter a language that they really don't

know. Transliteration is used to help language learners read words written in foreign scripts, by writing the sound of the word using the equivalent Latin letters. It is very nearly impossible to learn and understand a language that doesn't use a Latin-based alphabet without using the process of transliteration. Through transliteration, people can have access to knowing and pronouncing a foreign word, even by just studying and learning a language at home.

The Dravidian languages are a language family spoken mainly in southern India and parts of eastern and central India as well as in northeastern Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, and overseas in other countries such as Malaysia and Singapore. The most populous Dravidian languages are Telugu, Tamil, Kannada, and Malayalam. There are also small groups of Dravidian-speaking scheduled tribes, who live beyond the mainstream communities. It is often assumed that Dravidian languages are native to India (Indus Valley). Only two Dravidian languages are exclusively spoken outside India, Brahui in Pakistan and Dhangar, a dialect of Kurukh, in Nepal. The World Book encyclopedia, Volume 10 says: "Most southern Indians belong to the Dravidian ethnic group;" referring to them as one ethnic group.

All the Dravidian languages have their own native scripts excluding Brahui and that is the main hurdle in progress and development of Brahui as a modern digital language. Without a Dravidian family script endangered languages map of UNESCO has declared Brahui as a most vulnerable language in Pakistan in 2014 an eve of world mother language day. However, all Dravidian languages scripts are strange to each other, but their writing system rules are the same. So, all Dravidian languages can be transliterated from one to another language easily. Brahui is strange in the mainstream Dravidian family due to its Perso-Arabic script.

There are three subgroups within the Dravidian language family: North Dravidian, Central Dravidian, and South Dravidian. Brahui belongs to North Dravidian family, Telugu script is from the Brahmi family of scripts, and is used to write the Telugu language. However, the Brahmic script has missed three or four links from the Indus script. When Brahui is transliterated in any Dravidian script, it may find any clue to the decipherment of Indus Script.

There are few samples and examples of translation and transliteration of Brahui to Sindhi, Roman and Telugu transliteration, and from Brahui to Urdu and Sindhi as a translation:

Sample and Example 1:

Kana Kitabak
ڪناڪتاباڪ
ఖన ఖ°తబక్
میری کتابیں
منهنجا ڪتاب

Sample and Example 2:

Nun Ofthay aa julave kena
نن‌اوفتي‌اجلوڪينہ
ణున్ ఓఫ్థయ్ ఆ జులవ కాన
ہم ان پر حملہ کریں گے
اسان انهن تي حملو ڪنداسين

Sample and Example 3:

Ofk Galbal massur
اوفڪ‌گل‌بال‌مسر
ఓఫ్క్ ఘుల్బల్ మస్సుర్
وہ بہت خوش ہوئے
اهي سرها ٿيا

Malayalam is an interesting Dravidian language with the dual script. It has Malayalam and Perso-Arabic Script.

There is a popular hypothesis that Sindhi is the mother language of all Dravidians languages. In the modern digital era, Sindhi language can cater for Dravidians languages and can present as the center of etymological research. After developing Transliteration software of Dravidians and Sindhi Script, Brahui language will grow in its natural environment. A lot of opportunities will appear and main software platforms like the text to speech, Brahui character reorganization, Brahui voice reorganization, Brahui word processor, and the spell checker will be developed in a short span of time. Future of Brahui is bright if we handle this language with the proper digital linguistic approach. Through transliteration application Brahui language, and literature will flourish naturally, due to it suburb Dravidians family support. Dravidians, words, and diction can be revived with the modern linguistic approach.

11

Endangered Languages: Measuring and Promoting Language Vitality

Joan L.G. Baart

Many of the world's languages (perhaps as many as 90 percent of them) are in danger of extinction (Krauss 1992).[1] As the world grows "smaller and flatter," contact between language communities is increasing and multilingualism in language communities is increasing as well. There is a strong tendency in many language communities towards an increasing use of "dominant" languages and a decreasing use of the local language. This phenomenon is called "language shift".

Some language communities are shifting in this way, yet do not want to lose their heritage language and culture. In response to this situation, some members of these communities have begun to work actively to preserve their language and culture. Around the world, professional linguists and educationists are involved with language communities to assist them in their efforts to promote and preserve their language and culture.

For these efforts to be successful, an understanding of the factors determining language shift and language maintenance is needed. Several authors have attempted to incorporate the knowledge and experience that has been gained around the world about language shift and ways to reverse it, into a theoretical framework, most notably

1. Many thanks to Paul Lewis and Gary Simons for their comments on my attempt to summarize the SUM. All errors remaining are entirely my own.

Fishman 1991. Such a framework helps practitioners and language activists to understand the situation they are in and find a way forward in their language development activities.

The *Sustainable Use Model* (SUM), developed by Paul Lewis, Gary Simons, and others, builds on the work of Fishman provides an expanded theoretical framework that guides language development practitioners and language activists, and helps them to set goals that are realistic, to choose products that are appropriate in each situation, and to plan activities that produce desired results (Lewis and Simons 2016). Some guiding insights that feed into the SUM are the following:

- Typically, communities are multilingual and interact with speakers of various other languages. Therefore, language development must consider the entire linguistic repertoire of a community rather than just the local language.
- Many minority language communities face unprecedented pressure to abandon their local language and identity; this pressure must not be underestimated.
- The current vitality of a language determines the prospects for maintenance and the potential for development.
- Development decisions are community decisions.

Three main steps of a SUM approach

The three main steps that make up the SUM approach are the following:

1. Identify the current level of language use.
2. Determine a desired, sustainable level of language use.
3. Design a language development program.

These steps are based on several important ideas:

The first important idea of the SUM is: There are identifiable levels of language use which are of the utmost relevance to language development programs. Several authors have developed "measuring sticks" that can be used to measure the degree to which a language is endangered (or, conversely, the degree to which a language is still being used, and still being passed on to the next generation). One of these is Joshua Fishman's graded scale for measuring the degree of disruption of intergenerational transmission (GIDS = Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale), see Table 1 below**.**

Table 1: Summary of Fishman's GIDS	
Level	**Description**
1	The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level
2	The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services
3	The language is used for local and regional work by both outsiders and insiders
4	Literacy in the language is transmitted through education
5	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form throughout the community
6	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language
7	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it with their elders but is not transmitting it to their children
8	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation

In this table, level 8 is used for the most severely endangered languages (lowest level of language use), and level 1 is used for the least endangered languages (highest level of language use). When a language moves downward in this table (for instance, from level 6 to level 7), we speak of a process of "language shift" going on. When a language

moves upward in the table, we speak of "language revitalization" ("reverse language shift") going on.

The expanded GIDS (EGIDS)

The authors of the Sustainable Use Model have proposed an expanded version of Fishman's scale:

- First, they added a level on the top for languages that are used internationally.
- At the bottom, they added two levels for languages that no longer have any first language speakers. The difference between the two levels of extinct languages is that there are some communities who still identify with a language that they used to speak in the past, while for other communities no one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language they once spoke anymore.
- They also added some finer distinctions for levels 6 and 8 to be able to match the scale with the one that was developed by UNESCO.

Table 2: Expanded GIDS

Level	Label	Description	UNESCO
0	International	The language is widely used between nations in trade, knowledge exchange, and international policy.	Safe
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the nationwide level.	Safe
2	Provincial	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government within major administrative sub-divisions of a nation.	Safe
3	Wider Communication	The language is used in work and mass media without official status to transcend language differences across a region.	Safe
4	Educational	The language is in vigorous use, with standardization and literature being sustained through a widespread system of institutionally supported education.	Safe

5	Developing	The language is in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread or sustainable.	Safe
6a	Vigorous	The language is used for face-to-face communication by all generations and the situation is sustainable.	Safe
6b	Threatened	The language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users.	Vulnerable
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children.	Definitely Endangered
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active users of the language are members of the grandparent generation and older.	Severely Endangered
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining users of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.	Critically Endangered
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community, but no one has more than symbolic proficiency.	Extinct
10	Extinct	The language is no longer used, and no one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language.	Extinct

Four questions are sufficient to classify a language on this scale:

1. who uses the language?
2. What is the status of literacy?
3. What is the youngest generation of proficient speakers?
4. Does the language play a role in the identity of the community?

Table 3: EGIDS Diagnostic Questions			
Level	**Label**	**Description**	**UNESCO**
Who uses the language? In- and outsiders internationally (level 0); in- and outsiders nationwide (1); in- and outsiders region-wide (2); in- and outsiders locally and regionally (3); insiders only (see next question).			

Level	Label	Description	UNESCO
0	International	The language is widely used between nations in trade, knowledge exchange, and international policy.	Safe
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the national level.	Safe
2	Provincial	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government within major administrative sub-divisions of a nation.	Safe
3	Wider Communication	The language is used in work and mass media without official status to transcend language differences across a region.	Safe
What is the status of local language literacy? Institutionally supported (level 4); informal (5); no literacy in the language (see next question).			
4	Educational	The language is in vigorous use, with standardization and literature being sustained through a widespread system of institutionally supported education.	Safe
5	Developing	The language is in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread or sustainable.	Safe
What is the youngest generation of proficient speakers? All children (level 6a); only some children (6b); parents (7)			
6a	Vigorous	The language is used for face-to-face communication by all generations and the situation is sustainable.	Safe
6b	Threatened	The language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users.	Vulnerable
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children.	Definitely Endangered
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active users of the language are members of the grandparent generation and older.	Severely Endangered
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining users of the language are members of the grand-parent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.	Critically Endangered

Level	Label	Description	UNESCO
Does the language play a role in the identity of the community? Yes (level 9)			
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community, but no one has more than symbolic proficiency.	Extinct
10	Extinct	The language is no longer used and no one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language.	Extinct

The second important idea of the SUM is that from level 4 down, only four of the levels are inherently stable and sustainable; that is, a language is very likely to stay at that level if there are no drastic changes in the circumstances. On the other hand, languages at levels in-between are likely to slide further downward.

Table 4: The four inherently stable levels of language use (4, 6a, 9 and 10)

Level	Label	Description	UNESCO
4	Educational	Literacy in the language is transmitted through a system of public education.	Safe
5	Written	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in the written form in parts of the community.	Safe
6a	Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.	Safe
6b	Threatened	The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation is transmitting it to their children.	Vulnerable
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves but none are transmitting it to their children.	Definitely Endangered
8a	Moribund	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.	Severely Endangered

8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grand-parent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.	Critically Endangered
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.	Extinct
10	Extinct	No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.	Extinct

The third important idea of the SUM is that language development efforts should aim for one of the inherently sustainable levels of language use. Once the current level of language use is identified, a community can determine which of the sustainable levels of use it desires to work towards.

The FAMED conditions

The Sustainable Use Model of language development recognizes five conditions that are necessary for the language used to be sustained at one of the sustainable levels.

Functions

The language in question must be useful. There must be at least some social situations and topics of conversation where members of the language community feel that it is best to use their own language in those situations.

Acquisition

Community members will be unable to use the language if there are no systems in place for them to learn the language. Acquisition of the spoken language takes place naturally when children are exposed to it from birth. However, if children were born in families where the language is no longer spoken, and at a later age they want to learn the language, then means must be available for

them to do so. Likewise, acquisition of the written language depends on the availability of schools, literacy classes, primers, etc.

Motivations

Community members must be motivated to use the language at a sustainable level. If they perceive no benefit from doing so, or if the costs of doing so outweigh any benefits, they will find it difficult to maintain a sustainable level of language use.

Environment

The environment in which the people live must not be hostile to the desired sustainable use of the language, but it should rather foster and promote it. Government policies and practices are an important part of this environment, but also local community attitudes, policies, and practices.

Differentiation

Many communities speak multiple languages or language varieties. Clear norms, based on community consensus, as to which language is to be used in which situation, and in particular norms that forbid the use of other languages than the local language in certain situations, are important to maintain stability. Unless stable multilingualism is achieved, the weaker language will inevitably experience a shift downwards on the EGIDS scale.

The fourth important idea of the SUM is that the application of the FAMED conditions to each level of the EGIDS scale results in a framework that shows for each condition what needs to change to go from one EGIDS level up to the next higher level. More detailed materials are being field-tested and are becoming available to support language development, including a tool called "A guide to planning the future of our language."(Hanawalt et al. 2016).

Conclusion

In this paper, I briefly discussed the endangered state of many of the world's languages. The Sustainable Use Model (SUM), developed by Lewis, Simons, and others, provides a theoretical framework that informs language practitioners as they endeavor to promote language vitality.

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12

Customary Laws versus Contemporary Laws in Balochistan

Dr. M. Salah-ud-Din Mengal

Abstract

Being a conglomeration of different regions, Balochistan province of Pakistan, in fact, was a unique region in the Subcontinent which experienced different and sometimes parallel legal systems in the history. Being tribal in nature, the different regions of Balochistan had their own traditional and customary laws. However, with the advent of Britishers, Balochistan witnessed both the continuity of the customary laws as well as the imposition of contemporary laws

This paper discusses the historical background of Kalat state and the princely states under its suzerainty, British Balochistan as well as the tribal areas of Marri and Bugti and examines the customary vs. contemporary laws introduced and implemented in those regions, which all now constitute Balochistan province. Tracing the background of customary and contemporary laws as well as the tribal customs being regulated through those laws, the paper presents its conclusion and findings.

Introduction

During the British colonial era, the present day Balochistan province of Pakistan was, in fact, a cluster of following different states and regions:

1. Kalat state and the states of Makran, Kharan, and Lasbela under the suzerainty of Kalat state
2. British Balochistan comprised of the areas/ regions taken on lease by the Britishers from Kalat State as well as areas claimed from Amir of Kabul under the treaty of Gandmak Tribal Marri and Bugti Areas under the nominal control of Kalat state

Balochistan, in fact, was a unique cluster of regions in the Subcontinent which experienced different and sometimes parallels legal systems in the history. Before discussing the legal systems in the different regions which now constitute Balochistan, it is important to shed some light on the historical background of those regions:

Kalat state and the states under its suzerainty

In the 15th century the Brahui tribes under the command of Sardar Miro Khan Mirwani organized their groups and after the death of Miro Khan his son Mir Umar Khan attacked Kalat and defeated Hindu ruler, established first Brahui rule in Kalat in 1530. The newfound Brahui government faced lots of aggression from Ghaznavis, Mongols, and Mughal rulers, however, after the downfall of Mughals, the Brahuis also threw out the Mughal Governor from Kalat and Mir Ibrahim Khan Mirwari nominated his grandson Mir Hassan Mirwari as Brahui ruler and his family ruled for twelve generations. Later on, Mir Ahmed Khan –I became Khan of Kalat who ruled from 1666 to 1695. When still Europe had not come to the terms with the political system of the Confederacy, the Brahui rulers of Kalat introduced Brahui confederacy in Kalat state, making confederates more powerful to enjoy participatory democracy in the affairs of Kalat state.

Initially being a tiny state comprised of Sarawan and Jhalawan regions, each successive Brahui ruler, with his conquests, added new areas/regions to the Kalat state

making it one of the biggest frontier states of South Asia. After some expansion in Kalat state by Khan Mir Ahmed Khan as well as Khan Abdullah Kahar, it was the 'golden' era of Khan Mir Naseer Khan Noori in which Kalat State saw major expansions, strong confederacy, and a prosperous country.

Khan Mir Naseer Khan Noori annexed Makran, Kech, Panjgoor, Kasrkand and even the Karachi port into Kalat state. However, unfortunately, the Brahui rulers after Khan Mir Naseer Khan Noori did not prove strong enough to sustain such an expansion.

Soon the weak rulers of Kalat came into confrontation with the Britishers of India. In fact, as the signs of Russian aggression through Iran and Afghanistan border became apparent, the Britishers changed their 'closed border' policy towards the frontiers regions and adopted 'forward policy'. In a bid to install their favorite candidate Shah Shuja as the ruler of Afghanistan, the Britishers first time came into contact with the Brahui ruler of Kalat state to seek his support for the provision of logistic support to the 'Indus Force' constituted to conquer Afghanistan and also prevent the army caravans from the attacks of Baloch marauders when they cross Bolan Pass.

In fact, the first treaty was signed between Khan of Kalat and the British Government in 1839. The Britishers first time approached Khan of Kalat in 1835 but due to internal differences, this meeting could not be held. British faced shameful defeat in the first Afghan War. The British army after returning back from Kabul in 1839 attacked Kalat state and assassinated Khan Mehrab Khan Brahui along with so many renowned tribal *sardars*. They installed Shahnawaz Khan as ruler of Kalat and annexed Sarawan and Kachhi area to Kabul Government and a British Political Officer was also posted at Kalat. However, when Naseer Khan -II became the ruler of Kalat, the areas of Sarawan and Kachhi were restored back from the Afghan

Government to Kalat state. In 1854, the Khan of Kalat signed a new treaty with the Britishers.

Meanwhile, when Mir Khudadad Khan became the ruler of Kalat state, severe tussle emerged between the Khan and his Brahui *sardars*. Khan Khudadad Khan approached the British Government to prevent him from the conspiracy of tribal *sardars*. Captain Robert Sandeman was sent to Kalat for an amicable settlement between Khan and *sardars*. In December 1876, Lord Lytton, the Viceroy of India at Delhi came to Sibi *Darbar* where Khan of Kalat and his *sardars* were present and a new treaty was signed between Khan of Kalat and the Britishers, making Brahui *sardars* also a party to the treaty. According to that treaty now a representative of the British Government was to be permanently posted at Kalat. The main reason behind the said treaty was to control the aggression of Russia keeping in view the relationship with the Afghan Government.

British Balochistan

After installing Shahnawaz Khan as the new Khan of their choice, the Britishers forced Shahnawaz Khan as well as the subsequent *Khans* of Kalat for different treaties under which a number of the border areas of Kalat state were taken on lease from Kalat state to directly control the administration of those areas with the purpose of further extending the Britishers' border to keep the possible Russian aggression in check.

Quetta and Bolan were taken on lease from Kalat state in 1879 by the Britishers. In 1897, all these areas were declared under the control of Agent to the Governor General. It may be worth mentioning here that when Ahmed Shah Abdali had attacked Delhi in 1751, Khan Naseer Khan Noori had militarily supported Ahmed Shah Abdali. As such, the Quetta Pishin district was given to Kalat state as *shaal* to Mst. Bibi Mariam the mother of Naseer Khan Noori. Up to the rule of Khan Khudadad

Khan, the Quetta remained part of Kalat state until it was leased out in 1879 to the Britishers. Then, in 1903 Naseerabad and other areas were also taken on lease by the Britishers. All of these leased areas were controlled administratively and legally without the interference of any authority for the recovery of land revenue by the Britishers. British Government was vested with the civil and criminal court powers.

Till 1878, district Pishin, Sibi, Harnai, and Thal Chotiali were administratively under the control of Government of Kabul, however, in 1879 in the light of Gandmak treaty, the Britishers took control of those areas and in 1883, the same were included in Quetta Pishin Administrative area. The Britishers created 'British Balochistan Agency' constituting all the areas taken on lease from Kalat state as well as the districts claimed from Afghanistan under Gandmak treaty. This was usually known as 'British Balochistan'.

On 1st of April, 1883, Mr. Barnes was appointed first Political Agent of Quetta Pishin and later on, he was appointed as agent to the Governor General. The powers of Chief Commissioners were also delegated to him. Durand line agreement was signed in 1893 and on the western side, the area of Sanjrani from Chagai to Seestan also came under the command and control of the British Government. Zhob, Loralai agency were included in 1884 to 1890 and some tribal disputes were resolved and the order was passed in 1903, in the agency area and the Political Agents were declared as Deputy Commissioners in the light of Census Report and the said districts were directly brought under the control of Agent to the Governor General of the time.

Marri Bugti area

The history of Balochistan will not be complete if we ignore the historical background of Marri and Bugti tribes.

Historically, some Baloch tribes migrated from Iran via Makran during the Mughal rule, in the sub-continent and it is said that their leader Mir Chakar Rind also helped Humayun to capture Delhi at that time. This enhanced the influence of Baloch tribes. Basically, the profession of these tribes was only robbery and looting. During the rule of Khan Naseer Khan Noori, the Marri and Bugti tribes were also under the control of Kalat state. However, later on, when the Kalat State became weak, these two tribes again started their old profession of looting caravans and creating law and order situation in Bolan /Kachhi and other regions.

After 1839 when the Britishers returned back from Afghanistan via Bolan the said two tribes also attacked them. In 1845, the Britishers sent troops to Kahan for capturing marauder tribes, however, returned back without success. In 1847, Sir Robert Sandeman who was Deputy Commissioner at Dera Ghazi Khan negotiated and signed an agreement with these two tribes for being faithful to the Britishers and from 1867 up to 1878 the Britishers successfully controlled the area. The agreement with four important conditions signed by Robert Sandeman and Nawab Mehrullah Khan Marri is as under:

i. Marri Tribe will be faithful to Britishers and Khan of Kalat;
ii. The Marri tribes will provide personal force for the help of Britishers if need be;
iii. The Britishers will provide a free license of business to the Marri tribal persons;
iv. Marri tribe will not provide any shelter to fugitives and will be responsible for keeping peace and controlling the law and order situation;

On 24th of August, 1878 such agreement was also signed by the Britishers with Bugti tribes also.

Legal systems in Kalat state and its suzerainties

During the early years of Brahui rule on Kalat state, Mir Bijar Khan Mirwari introduced a tribal legal system in Sarawan and Jhalawan provinces, where *sardars* and *Takris* decided the matters with mutual consultation as per their traditions and customs, however, Islamic laws were also enforced. From 1666 to 1695 when Mir Ahmed Khan -I was the ruler of Kalat, each tribe had its own traditions; however, administratively powers were given to *sardars* to control the law and order situation within their domains. They were fully responsible for each and every act of a person residing within their jurisdiction. The Qazi courts were also introduced during the period of Khan – e-Azam Mir Naseer Khan Noori who remained the ruler of Kalat from 1749 to 1794. First time in this backward area the parliament was introduced and written constitution was implemented as per the customs and traditions of the peoples of the area and punishment were imposed according to Islamic laws and the cases of *Siahkari* were decided according to the traditions and the circumstances of the cases.

In 1857, when Khan Khudadad Khan became the ruler of Kalat, he also appointed *Qazis* for deciding the cases and they were also performing their duties as petition writers. Some nominal fees were prescribed for their services which were called *Mohrana*. Severe disputes arose between Khan and his Brahui *sardars* which created serious law and order situation in Kalat especially in its border areas. These conflicts were also bothering the Britishers who had their eyes on the borders areas. Later on, the Britishers were invited by Khan Khudadad Khan to resolve the dispute between Khan and *sardars* of Kalat state. This provided an ample opportunity to the Britishers to interfere in the administrative as well as legal matters of Kalat state. The Britishers in view of their interest started weakening the Khan and empowering the tribal chiefs.

The Britishers decided that if there is a dispute between the same tribe that will be decided by the said *sardar*, however, if a dispute arises between different tribes that will be decided in *Shahi Jirga* to be held at Sibi and Quetta.

In the meantime, Khan Khudadad Khan assassinated his few officials and the British Government arrested him. In the light of a meeting held by the *sardars* of that time, Jirga was constituted which awarded him punishment and he was kept in Pishin jail till his death. Later on, Khan Mehmood Khan was appointed as the Khan of Kalat. He was a puppet in the hands of Britishers. The British Government fixed salaries for the *sardars* and enhanced their powers. Now they were directly under the control of British Government and the Political Agent, under the treaty signed in 1876 by Khan Khudadad Khan and along with tribal chiefs. All the judicial work was snatched by the Agent to the Governor General and a Political Agent was appointed at Kalat State and Assistant Political Agent in Makran who performed duties in the light of Frontier Crimes Regulation 1901. Before this, in the regime of Khan Mehmood Khan, a Dastur-ul-Amal regarding the tribal disputes was formulated in which the *Naib Tehsildars* and *Tehsildars* having jurisdiction of Rs.5000 and Rs.10000 respectively were to decide the matters and the appeals were filed before the Prime Minister and the final decision was made by Khan of Kalat. *Qazis* were also working and *Jirga* members were being appointed with the consent of the parties and sometime *Jirga* matters were also referred to the *Qazi* of the area for deciding the matters. However, women were deprived of legitimate rights in inheritance and the even Islamic laws were ignored in this matter.

Legal systems in British Balochistan

From the study of the history of India, it is clear that during the British regime, the people were inclined to accept the Islamic laws – both civil and criminal. In 1827,

Bombay Presidency issued the criminal laws in the light of Act XIV of 1827. However, in Calcutta and Madras Presidency areas, some Islamic laws were also introduced. In 1857, following the war of freedom, the Britishers brought India in their full grip, however, still they did not ignore the importance of the Islamic jurisprudence and first time in 1861, Criminal Procedure Code was enforced and later in 1862, the Penal Code of India was enforced in all the areas which fell under the jurisdiction of her Majesty Queen Victoria. (See Parliamentary Laws, Chapter 21-22, Page-106).

In 1890, the 'British Balochistan Criminal and Civil Justice Regulation' was enacted and both the laws were repealed in 1896. Criminal Procedure Code of India was enforced in 1887 with some amendments for the judicial work of Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner, Assistant Commissioner, Extra Assistant Commissioner, *Tehsildar*, *Munsif*, and *Naib Tehsildar* Courts.

In 1901, new Frontier Crimes Regulation was enforced with some reasonable amendments in British Balochistan. The British Balochistan laws Regulation-II of 1913 and British Balochistan Laws Regulation 1890 was repealed to enforce the law of the British Government in Balochistan as enforced in any other part of their Government. The Criminal Procedure Code of 1897 and the Civil Procedure Code of 1908 was also enforced in the British Balochistan for Criminal and Civil Justice Regulation. On the 3rd of May, 1937, the uniform law was tried to be enforced in the whole province. The British Criminal and Civil Justice law and extension Regulation No. 6 for British Balochistan Courts Regulation No.7 of 1939 was issued. The former Criminal and Civil Justice Regulation 1896 was repealed and the procedure remained the same.

On 15th of August, 1947, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah continued the same laws enforced in British

Balochistan as well as in the tribal areas. On 15th of October, 1955 after the creation of One Unit the Frontier Crime Regulation of 1901 remained still intact. The Frontier Crime Regulation 1901 after the constitution of 1956 the section 8 and 11 were declared against the fundamental rights. (See: PLD 1957, WP, Peshawar page 100 and PLD 1957, Quetta, page 01).

The High Court declared that there must be uniformity in the laws in West Pakistan but in 1958 again Martial Law was imposed and the constitution of 1956 was repealed. In the case of Doso Versus State, PLD 1958-SC-Page-533 Supreme Court declared the suspension of fundamental rights. Again Frontier Crime Regulation of 1901 became enforced. After enforcement of the constitution on 24th of November, 1963 the Government of West Pakistan passed an Ordinance No. 43 which was enforced for civil and criminal matters. In 1963, Quetta Kalat Ordinance-I and II were enforced but finally, Special Provisions of I-II of 1968 were introduced for civil and criminal matters in the areas of the present province of Balochistan, the Quetta city and cantonment area was excluded on 22nd May 1972 by the order of Governor of that time.

Legal systems in leased areas

The areas taken on lease by the Britishers from Kalat State including Quetta and Bolan were declared under the control of Agent to the Governor General administratively and legally in 1897. However, the cases were decided according to the customs and traditions and FCR was also introduced. In 1890, the British Balochistan Agency Law and Forest Law, Civil Justice and Criminal Laws were enforced in this area. (*See Quetta Pishin* Gazetteer *Volume - V page -215*). In November 1901, Frontier Crimes Regulation was enforced by Agent to the Governor General. In 1937, the same was also extended to British

Balochistan and Tribal Agency areas.

Legal systems in Marri and Bugti area

During the British regime, the local *jirga* had been deciding the matters in Marri area, while, other important cases were being decided by the Political Agent Sibi and that was a final order. However, the *Tumandar* of Government was responsible to recover and deposit the amount regarding forfeiture of the assets and fines. Marri tribes were paid Rs.8, 000 per month for providing levies force at that time.

In the Bugti hilly areas, the Bugti *sardar* was fully independent and he used to decide cases of heinous crimes and maintained his personal Jail. However, in some cases, where there was the apprehension of injustice, the Government had been interfering, and that was the duty of the *Tumandar* to recover and deposit the fine amount and the amount recovered in lieu of forfeiture of sureties. The half of the said deposits was paid to Bugti *sardar* along with Rs.6000/- per month for providing levies force. On May 3, 1937, another order was passed by Interior Department and further the Agent to the Governor General Balochistan continued correspondence and on 30th of August, 1938 the Government of India in its order amended the agreement and included Marri Bugti area within their domain.

So in the light of said amendment, all the laws applicable in British Balochistan became applicable to the said tribal areas of Marri and Bugti tribes. In 1940, Agent to the Governor-General under section 2 of Balochistan Laws Regulation of 1913 used his powers and declared Marri and Bugti area as a district and two *Tehsils* were established for Marri and Bugti tribes at Dera Bugti and Kohlu. So in the light of the above-mentioned discussion, it is proved that after 1940 in the former British Balochistan including tribal areas like Marri and Bugti areas there was

uniformity of law for controlling of the law and order situation.

Customs, traditions and their usage

Balochistan is still a tribal society. The customs and traditions cover the whole human life from the birth of a child to the death of a person. In this connection, every tribe has its own traditions regarding the engagement and marriages in the different areas. In the early period, the people would make engagements of their children for the marriages when still they had not reached the adulthood and a lot of uncivilized traditions were in practice. District wise tribal traditions were compiled in former British Balochistan by Deewan Jamiat Rai, in his book 'The Manual of Customary Laws '. This is the first book on the preserved history of old traditions in this region. However, with the social changes in the area the traditions the customs also changed. In the whole Balochistan including former British Balochistan and Kalat state, mostly the people are Muslims and adopt Islamic laws and traditions in the social life, however, in certain matters, tribal traditions override the Islamic laws.

Bride price

The tradition of engagement of the children for marriage is one of the key traditions of the tribal society. In tribal society if the 'engagement' is dishonored on the side of girl's family or boy's family it will be treated as contempt for the tribe or if the girl is engaged with another person despite her early engagement her murder is declared lawful and the same matter is decided according to the traditions of the tribe.

There is another tradition which is still alive in the name of *Walwar* in Pakhtun tribes and *Lab* in Brahui tribes, under which the family of the bride has to pay a certain amount to the father or the guardian of the groom for the

expenses of the marriage. This is also one of the bad traditions as although the amount is claimed by the family of the girl as expenses to occur on the marriage ceremony practically it is a price for the body of the girl. It is for all practical purposes a sale of a girl into marriage. It is considered to be incorrect tradition because most of the time poor youth are unable to marry as it is difficult for them to pay for the so-called marriage arrangements, which in fact is the pride price, while on the other hand, the wealthy people even in old age can marry quite young girls while paying bride price.

Siahkari

Siahkari is very heinous custom and tradition in our province. The word *siahkari* is very comprehensive and it has been described by Mr. Burnes with the following words on the 14th of November, 1892:

> Any person who will cause damage to the reputation of a woman in the society and if their sub-tribe feels it as contempt then the said person is liable to be prosecuted and the matter will be decided by the Jirga.

On 3rd of September, 1912 Mr. Jan Ramsey Agent to the Governor General circulated a letter No.1575-Z and directed that if a virgin girl or a widow commits *siahkari* the same does not fall within the meaning of *zina* whereas *siahkari* was declared as a heinous crime and *Siahkars* should be prosecuted and punished by the Jirga according to the facts and circumstances of each case. The A.G.G. Col: Parson further explained the same on 07th May 1936 in a letter No.879-V that tribal persons have to decide such kind of matters according to their traditions and it depends upon *riwaj* that either they should get compensation in shape of the amount or to get revenge in the name of honor.

In the tribal society, it is a very important tradition/ *riwaj* and it needs deep consideration. In old ages the general public of the area was very strict to safeguard the honor and chastity of their family and if someone committed anything in this respect, then, then the male of the family were ready to sacrifice their lives for restoring the honour of their family and would even kill the person involved in dishonouring their family. For family honor people used to kill their relatives and even their children merely on suspicion, to safeguard family honor, on the ground that they believe that such kind of murder is also acceptable in the Islamic laws. In letter No.1575-S issued on 03rd of September, 1912, by the then AGG Balochistan, it was described that such kind of killing in the name of honor in this tribal society is against *shariat* as well as Islamic laws. Different decisions were taken regarding fine, revenge and compensation etc.

In some area of Balochistan where an allegation of *siahkari* was imposed upon the females the same were sold by the legal heirs of their husbands and in case of widows, after payment of *walwar,* they were treated as an asset to the said family and forced to marry in the said family. A lot of cases regarding recovery of *walwar* were filed in the courts in the past; A.A.G. Mr. Parson decided two cases which were mentioned in Green Book on the page -151 as it was ordered that *Walwar* can be retrieved by the brother of deceased. The tradition of *walwar/lab* was impossible to be controlled by any law of the land because the lack of education was one of the key causes behind such tradition. Although some laws were enacted, however, they were not implemented in the letter and spirit e.g. the West Pakistan *Walwar* Act, 1964 & West Pakistan Dowry Act, 1967.

Modifications (paragraphs 26-38) were suggested in the *Riwaj*, confirmed by the Sibi *Shahi Jirga* on the 6th January 1931, and sanctioned by the Agent to the Governor General on the 9th May 1931. In this connection,

section 27 of the Manual of Customary Laws for Balochistan Part-III *Riwaj* of the principal tribes of the Sibi district, section 27 of the same law is reproduced herein below:

> The relatives who have the right to declare a woman Siahkar have also the customary right to kill the Siakaris, in cases where the *siahkars* are *firar* (run away) or any of the wursa should have seen them in the act, or there be some shak (suspicion) about their misconduct (*Na-jaiz-ta'alluq*), or they have been found in such a state as would be a proof of such misconduct. Should both the *siahkars* be killed, or the man be killed and the woman escape, the question of compensation will not arise, and the woman who escapes (whether maid, *mansuba*, *mankuha* or widow) shall be handed over to her pidri *wursa* who will be entitled to dispose off her in marriage, and realize *walwar*. Should the woman be killed and her seducer escape he shall have to pay to her *wursa* the full amount of compensation.

Most of the tribes liked the same as good *riwaj*, for certain reasons. In case of widow now- a- days they are getting second marriage by their own wish and will or with the consent of their legal heirs. If there is no one male member of the family available then she is married at another place after getting *walwar* but in Brahui and Baloch areas the custom of *walwar* has become weak and the widows are also enjoying the legal rights for approaching the courts for their legal rights. In Pashtun areas according to their traditions mostly the tribes are not providing the legal rights to the women. In Baloch areas especially in Makran, women are approaching the Qazi Courts on family matters, including *haq mehar*, maintenance, dissolution of marriage etc.

Murder in case of self-defense

In the case of a defense of property or self-defense, a person, if he is the aggressor and he is murdered, according to *riwaj* the family of the deceased will not get any compensation and in the old time, such kinds of murders were declared lawful. The first time such kind of limits were decided on 22/ 23rd of January 1938 in the *Shahi Jirga* and unanimously it was decided that except in Marri, Bugti tribes and the area of Makran the following *riwaj* will be implemented if any aggressor will commit a crime and he will be murdered or injured:

1. Dacoity
2. Aggression
3. Theft of cattle
4. The intention of *Siahkari* trespass the house
5. Deliberately and intentionally causing damages to *karez* or water channels or any crop
6. Theft of crops and in case of self-defense, attacking a person who is the owner of the said crops
7. In case of tribal disputes upon the said point, the jirga can decide the same compensation if need be at that time

Bijar and phidi

There were certain other customs and traditions and *Riwaj* in different tribes. *Bijar* is a kind of help with money and livestock at the time of marriages, *Sargashat*, presentation of money and other valuable things to the bridegroom at the time marriages. There are certain other *riwajs* regarding the nomination of a girl child even before her birth for marriage. Called as *phid taffing* or *phidi* in Brahui according to this tradition a family seeking a girl from another family for their body, used to pay some amount as *walwar* and would also offer a future girl in marriage to prides family whenever it is born to the bride. That is a cruel decision

about the future/marriage of a girl who is still not born in this world.

Revenge

Revenge is another gruesome tribal tradition. If a person is killed, in retaliation the family of the killed will take revenge. The unfortunate aspect of this revenge system is that it sometimes even crosses the borders of the families involved. Sometimes when a person of a certain tribe is killed, the family would try to kill the killer or any family member of the killer and in some case, even any other person belonging to the tribe of the killer. This not only results in the killing of innocent people who have nothing to do with the initial murder but this also results in tribal feuds which then continue for decades and consume the lives of many innocent people.

The tribal enmities have taken the lives of so many innocent people in Balochistan. The Rind - Raisani dispute is still going on, and the Government has failed to control the same tribal enmity. People are being killed in Court Rooms as they have no trust in the present judicial system. If the convicts are released after completing the sentence, they are killed in revenge. So in these circumstances, the respect of law is eliminated from the society. Even well-equipped force is unable to control the situation of law and order in the society. People still have respect for their traditions, which are necessary to be implemented, and the council of elders is required to be constituted for controlling this bloodshed of innocent people in Balochistan.

Shariat

Shariat is a complete code of life for the Muslims and offers punishment for each offense and all the Muslims believe in the implementation of Islamic laws in the society because the sources of Islamic laws are:

i) Holy Quran and Sunnah
ii) Hadith
iii) Ijama
iv) Qias

Prior to Islam, the Arab society was also based upon tribalism and they passed their lives according to their traditions. The same situation still exists in Balochistan. Islam came in Balochistan in the 7th century and at that time people of the area only knew their own old traditions. However, Islam protected the rights of women and children in society. Later on, Britishers came here and besides Shariat, they also introduced their own legal system to control law and order situation. On 12th of July, 1907, Frontier Crimes Regulation, Jirga law was implemented, however, the Britishers never interfered in the *riwaj* and *shariah*, especially regarding the rights of the widows and such matters, were referred to Jirga.

In Quetta Pishin Gazetteer Vol-5 page-79 it is stated that all tribal people are religious, they offer their prayers, fast regularly and pay *zakat*. The Agent to the Governor General emphasized in Green Book page 128 that people residing in British Balochistan are passing life in accordance with law but some of them are ignoring the rights of the widows and women in the region.

Prior to British rule, Khan of Kalat, Mir Naseer Khan Noori had passed an order that all the matters and disputes would be resolved in the light of the principles of Islam and every tribal *sardar* had to consult the Qazi or a person who knows Islamic laws to reach up to a right decision, but politically Brahui ruler also enforced customs and traditions, and *riwaj* was also implemented at that time, whereas at the same time there was great difference between *shariat* and *riwaj* and especially in cases of *diyat* the amount which was fixed as Rs.1500/-and fine of Rs.500/- and the girls were not getting share in the

property left in inheritance (History of Balochistan Mir Gul Khan Naseer Page-167-168).

Levies system

The levies system was introduced by the Britishers to strengthen *sardars* and notables of the area and to control the law and order situation. However, the levies authorities were unable to investigate the criminal cases in a scientific way and in most of the cases no proper postmortem was done and no other necessary reports were prepared. The Court Fees Act of 1870, the Stamp Act, 1899, the Registration Act, 1908 were also made applicable in this area. The regular courts are now functioning. The Civil Procedure Code is applicable in Quetta city, Nushki, Sibi and Loralai, whereas in the area of former British Balochistan and tribal areas *Shariat* Application Regulation, 1976 is applicable and in former Kalat State Union for civil matters, *Dastur-ul-Amal Deewan-e-Kalat* is still being implemented excluding Hub Industrial Area and Gwadar district.

Conclusion & findings

It has been observed that the most heinous crimes of *siahkari* or murder in self-defense are still treated to be in accordance with the traditions and the same has yet not been eliminated from Balochistan. The problem of *walwar* and *lab* as a payment for women to be taken in marriage still exists and even after enforcement of certain laws regarding dowry and other restrictions things have not improved yet especially for women.

In criminal cases compromise is affected and matters are compounded due to influence and coercive methods and threats; poor people are usually forced into compromise through cohesion. The women are unable to get their share in the property left in inheritance and in the case of blood money in lieu of compensation in a murder

case due share is not being given to certain legal heirs.

Jirga and *merh* are purely tribal approaches to resolve the matters amicably according to the customs and traditions of the area. Moreover, it is the greatness of the aggrieved party to respect such kind of admission of the guilt by an accused person and forgive them as per circumstances of the case. Such customs are still alive and are accepted in Balochistan, having both merits and demerits. There is a dire need for implementation of laws to bring Balochistan at par with civilized societies. Besides, there is also a strong need for providing educational facilities and industrial development to curb the tribalism in the province

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- The Gwadur (Application of West Pakistan Laws) Ordinance 1962
- The Stamp Act, 1899
- The Succession (Balochistan Amendment) Ordinance 1979
- The West Pakistan CivilCourts Ordinance 1962
- West Pakistan (Adaptation and Repeal of Laws) Act 1957
- West Pakistan Dowry Act, 1967
- West Pakistan *Walwar* Act, 1964

13

Reflection of Brahui Culture in Brahui Modern Prose

Dr. Muhammad Ali Dinakhel

According to T.S. Eliot, culture is the way of life of a particular people living together in one place.[1] Ahmad Shuja Pasha writes that culture or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society.[2] Pakistan is a multi-cultural country and it has its regional cultures and civilizations.[3] Literature is the reflection of the society that is why the best reflection of Brahui culture is found in its literature. The environment has its influence upon writers and that is why a writer or poet directly or indirectly depicts his environment and culture. As compared to poetry, culture is visibly seen in prose. Same is the case of Brahui prose and Brahui culture. We easily know about the cultural elements of Brahui people through their literature. Their lifestyle, customs, food, education, professions, religion etc. are seen in the prose of Brahui literature. Modern genres in Brahui prose, like a novel, short story, drama etc. are the main sources of Brahui culture. In this paper, the main features of Brahui culture have been pointed out in

1. Paul Geyer, prof., Dr., On the Dialectics of Culture and Civilization in Critical Cultural Studies, p.4.
2. Pasha, Ahmad Shuja, Pakistan the cultural heritage, Lahore, Sang-E-Meel Publications, 1998, p. 15.
3. Sabat Hassan, Pakistan min Tahzibka Irtiqaa, Karachi, Maktaba Danyaal, 2009, p. 303.

the genres of modern Brahui prose i.e. novel, short story, drama etc.

Brahui is the oldest language of Pakistan. It comes under the Dravidian group of languages.[4] The first book written in Brahui is that of Malik Dad's *Tuhfat-ul-Ajaib*.[5] History of Brahui Literature consists of four periods. Among them, the fourth and last period starts after the creation of Pakistan, which is called the Modern Period.[6] In the Modern period, short story, novel, drama, essay, travelogue etc. were introduced and developed. The first short story, *Musafar,* was published in the first issue of *Nawa-i-Watan* on 1st January 1955.[7] Three collections of the short stories of Waheed Zaheer have been published. In his short stories, bad rituals of the society, tyranny, and oppression on the poor people by the *sardars* of the upper class have been depicted.[8] Yusuf Sani, Abdus Salam, Nasrin, Naseer Aqil and other short story writers have skillfully presented Brahui culture in their short stories.[9]

First Brahui drama, *Raabi*, written by Ghulam Nabi, was published in 1956. After the establishment of Radio Station in 1956, we see radio dramas too. First Brahui novel, *Dariho,* was written by Gul Bangulzai.[10] *Rosh Paish* is third Brahui novel. It has also been written by Gul Bangulzai. In a true sense, it is the first novel of Brahui.[11] It

4. Rooman, Anwar, Prof., Brahuiawr *Urdu ki Lisani wa saqafati rawabit*, in Pakistan min Urdu (Vol. II) by Prof. Fateh Muhammad Malik and others, Islamabad, National Language Authority, 2006, p.213.
5. Sindhi, Memon Abdul Majeed, Dr., Lisanyat-i-Pakistan, Islamabad, National Language Authority, 1992, p.387.
6. Brahui, Abdur Rahman, Dr., Jadeed Nasri Adab (Brahui) in Study Guide M.Phil Pakistani Languages: Baluchi, Brahui Zaban-o-Adab, Islamabad, AIOU, 2004, p.179.
7. Ibid., p.179.
8. Ibid., p.179.
9. Afzal Murad, Mukhtasar Tarikh Zaban-o-Adab Brahui, Islamabad, NLA, 2009, p.134.
10. Ibid., p.121.
11. Sabir, Ghawas Bakhash, (Translator), Aftab Taza by Gul Bangalzai, Islamabad, Pakistan Academy of Letters, 1995, p.11.

has been translated into Urdu by Ghaus Bakhash Sabir. Major themes of the novels of Gul Bangulzai are caste system, negative tribal traditions, customs, and poverty etc.[12] Other prominent novelists are Dr. Naseer Aqil, Nigar Shaheen Baranzai, Dr.Ghulam Sarwar Pirkani, Ghulam Dastagir, Shahzad Ghani etc.

The tradition of travelogue writing started properly in modern era i.e. after the creation of Pakistan. First travelogue, *Silani*, which has been published in a book-form in 1995, is that of Qayyum Baidar. The second one is that of Ghulam Sarwar Pirkani *De Tik Na Musafar*. Among the prominent travelogue-writers are Noor Muhammad Parwana, Dr. Abdul Rahman Brahui, Abdur Razzaq Sabir, Johar Brahui, and Azizullah Aziz. [13]

The progressive movement also influenced Brahui literature. Under the influence of the progressive movement, we see drastic changes in the themes of Brahui modern prose. Dr. Abdul Rahman Brahui, Amirul Mulk Mengal, Gul Bangulzai, Habibullah Jatak, Ghulam Haidar Hasrat, Ghulam Nabi Rahi, Zafar Mirza, Moosa Toor, Dr. Abdul Nabi, Prof. Abdur Rauf, Yusuf Sani, Noor Muhammad Parwana, Pir Muhammad Zubirani, Malik Muhammad Panah etc. founded the Brahui progressive movement. The modern poem, short story, novel, drama, free verse, close verse, sonnet, and song were introduced under the influence of the progressive movement.[14] Dr. Abdul Rahman Brahui and Dr. Abdur Razzaq Sabir have conducted their research about the Brahui Modern Prose. The research work of these great writers is commendable.[15]

12. AfzalMurad, MukhtasarTarikhZaban-o-AdabBrahui, Islamabad, NLA, 2009, p.121.
13. Ibid., p.138.
14. Brahui, Sosan, *Urdu awr Brahui: Lisani wa Adabi Ishtirak*, in *Pakistani Zubanin Mushtarik Lisani wa Adabi Warsa*, by Dr. Inam-ul-Haq Javed and Abdullah Jan Abid, Islamabad, AIOU, 2009, p.268.
15. KashifRizvi, Pakistani Zubanin, Islamabad, Asif House, 2007, p.48.

Brahui Culture as reflected in Brahui literature

Major themes of Brahui literature are mysticism in classical literature,[16] humanism, progressivism, etc.[17]

Brahui meaning and linguistic geography

The word Brahui has been explained in various ways. Different variations have also been given. Among them, one is Barohi which means "mountain dweller" or "Highlander". To the extreme north-west, far away from all other Dravidian languages, in the heart of eastern Balochistan, we come to Brahui.[18] The Brahui or Brohi people live in the rugged hills of Pakistan's western borderland. Mostly they are living in Pakistan's Balochistan province around the town of Kalat. They are also found in southern Afghanistan and Iran.

There are three dialects of Brahui language: Sarawani (spoken in the north), Jhalawani (spoken in the southeast), and Chagai (spoken in the northwest and west). The Brahui language is related to the languages spoken in South India. That is why among Pakistani languages it is an isolated language; therefore, its vocabulary is only 15% Dravidian. Grierson says that it has freely absorbed words from the vocabularies of the neighboring Persian, Balochi, and Sindhi.[19] Although most of the kings/Khans of Balochistan were Brahui speakers they did not adopt Brahui as their official and court language.

Many Brahui-speakers are bilingual, also speaking Balochi or other local languages. In this regard, Grierson

16. Brahui, Sosan, Urdu aur Brahui: Lisaniwa Adabi *Ishtiraak* In *Pakistani Zubanin: Mushtarik Lisani wa Adabi Wirsa* by Dr. Inam-ul-Haq Javed and Abdullah Jan Abid, Islamabad, Allama Iqbal Open University, 2009, p.264.
17. Ibid., p.266-68.
18. Grierson, G.A., Linguistic Survey of Pakistan Vol. I Introductory (Being Vol I Part I of the Linguistic Survey of India), Lahore, Accurate Printers, n.d., p.93.
20. Ibid., p.93.

says that every Brahui is bilingual. According to Mr. Bray, the present Khan of Kalat used to talk in Brahui to his mother and Balochi to his father and brothers. There is no distinct indigenous script for Brahui; it is written in the Perso-Arabic alphabet. Writing of Brahui literature has recently started because Grierson has written in his Linguistic Survey that the language has no written literature. When written, the Persian character is generally employed, although in books written by Europeans the Roman character is preferred.[20] The separation of Balochi into two dialects, according to Grierson, is due to the Brahui language. In this regard, he says Brahui is spoken in the central part of Balochistan and separates Balochi into two clearly distinguished dialects, *viz*., Eastern Balochi and Western Balochi or Makrani.[21]

Brahui tribes and folklore

Well known Brahui tribes are Mengal, Bizenjo, Shahwani, Raisani, Zehri, Zarakzai, Sasoli, Jatak, and Qalandrari. Brahui folklore has the following two important genres; Barnazna: it is a love song of short words. Laili Moor: in this genre, the feelings of love are described, especially the feeling of departure and meeting of lover and beloved.[22] Brahui has its rich folkloric history. Brahui modern prose is based on the folklore. The stories and other folklore of Brahui present the Brahui view of the qualities and strength of character desirable in men and women. As in the following story of Mula Mansur desirable qualities of a woman have been described. Skepticism is also seen toward religious leaders who preach purity to the world but practice otherwise.

Mulla Mansur was an orphan and doing his job in the

20. Ibid., p.93.
21. Ibid., p.104.
22. Sindhi, Memon Abdul Majeed, Dr., *Lisanyat-i-Pakistan*, Islamabad, National Language Authority, 1992, p.386.

house of a *qazi* (a Muslim religious leader). The *qazi* was an insensitive man. Though Mansur had served him for seven long years, he beat him over a small mistake. Mansur left the *qazi* and took to traveling the world. He met an old shepherd, fell in love with his daughter, and married her. When Mansur and his wife returned to his home, the beauty of his wife caused such a stir that everyone from the *qazi* to the king desired to possess her. However, Mansur's wife was steadfast in her fidelity to her husband. When the *qazi* continued to make advances and tried to seduce her, she exposed him publicly. All the people joined in condemning the *qazi*, and the king banished him from the Brahui lands.

The cultural resemblance with neighboring cultures

For centuries the Brahui people have been living near the Iranian and Sindhi people. Brahuis used to go to Sindh whenever they needed. That is why they have close cultural resemblance with Sindhis and Iranian. In addition, they are almost entirely Muslim, usually of the Sunni sect. Due to this cultural interaction, Brahui language has resemblance with neighboring languages. In this regard, Grierson says that Brahui has freely absorbed words from the vocabularies of the neighboring Persian, Balochi and Sindhi languages.[23]

Religion

The religion of Brahuis is Islam. They celebrate all the Islamic rituals. They are Sunnite Mahommedans but are not fanatical. They follow Islamic religious beliefs and practices as set out in the Qur'an (Koran), though many of their social customs are Indian in origin. Communal worship focuses on the mosque, and *mullahs* (Muslim

23. Sabir, Ghawas Bakhash (Translator) Aftab-i-Taza (Brahui Novel) written by Gul Bungalzai, Islamabad, Pakistan Academy of Letters, 1995, pp. 55,90.

priests) see to the spiritual and ritual needs of the people. Reverence for saints (*pirs*) and the visit to their shrines is also deeply entrenched in Brahui culture.[24] Every family has its particular saint, and women often keep in their houses some earth (*khwarda*) from the saint's shrine to be used in time of need. The Brahui believe in sorcery and possession by *jinn* or evil spirits. A mullah or Sayyed (holy man) is often called in to read from the Qur'an or provide charms and amulets to exorcize these spirits. Should this fail, a sheikh, who is known for his power over *jinn* may cast them out by dancing.

Major holidays

The Brahuis observe the usual holidays of the Muslim calendar. The holiest of all is the eve of the tenth day of the month of Muharram, which is known as *Imamak*. Women prepare special dishes of meat and rice during the day. The family gathers near sunset in the presence of a *mullah* (Muslim priest), who reads from the Qur'an and recites prayers for the dead over the food. Dishes of food are then sent to relatives and neighbors, who reciprocate with their own offerings. The following morning is an occasion for the head of the house to visit the graveyard to pray at the graves of his dead relatives. New clothes are put on Eid occasion. [25]

Relationships

When Brahuis meet, they stop, shake hands, and hug each other. The encounter continues with inquiries after each other's health and then proceeds to an exchange of news (*Hal*) concerning family, friends, cattle, and other matters

24. Grierson, G.A., Linguistic Survey of Pakistan Vol. I Introductory (*Being Vol I Part I of the Linguistic Survey of India*), Lahore, Accurate Printers, n.d., p.93.
25. Sabir, Ghawas Bakhash (Translater) Aftab-i-Taza (Brahui Novel) written by GulBungalzai, Islamabad, Pakistan Academy of Letters, 1995, pp.18,31,47,100.

of interest.[26] Women do not shake hands with those men who are not their relatives.[27] In close relations, the women do not cover their faces from the friends of the husband.[28] Among family members, the enmity between cousins and uncle and nephew is found.[29]

Family life

The Brahuis are organized in tribes and each of which has a hereditary chief (*sardar*). Families are usually extended but the ones who have moved to urban areas do form nuclear families. The tribes are loosely structured units based on patrilineal descent (tracing descent through the father) and political allegiance. This clan system allows for Balochi and Pathan groups to be incorporated into the Brahui tribal units.

Weddings

The weddings are typical Muslim-weddings with slight variation in the customs that are practiced. The favored marriage among the Brahui is with the first cousin. Marriages are arranged, although the wishes of the couple are taken into consideration but in most of the cases, parents do not ask their children about their will and arrange the marriage by themselves.[30] Girls get married at a very early age.[31] In the past, child marriage was common and mostly the marriages were arranged when the children were born. But now this practice has been banned under Pakistani law. The betrothal and marriage ceremonies are important events in the life of both family and tribe.[32] Finger ring is given at the time of betrothal.[33] Disputes within tribes are usually settled at the time of marriages. Although Muslim law allows polygyny (multiple wives),

26. Ibid., p.16.
27. Ibid., p.99.
28. Ibid., p.122.
29. Ibid., p.80.
30. Ibid., pp.35,39.
31. Ibid., p.122.
32. Ibid., p.48.
33. Ibid., p.126.

economic realities mean most Brahui marriages are monogamous. Family structure tends to reflect economic systems. The nuclear family predominates among nomadic Brahui, while extended families are common among village inhabitants. Divorce, though simple, is rare.[34] In the past, adultery was punishable by death, although such practices are forbidden by Pakistani law. Widow re-marriage is accepted. The women are not allowed to come in front of their fiancés before marriage. Brides have to sit in a corner (*Kund*) and are not allowed to come out of that room or meet people other than their immediate family at least a week before their marriage. Groom has to pay an amount (*lab*) to the bride's family for the expenses that they have to bear during the wedding.[35] This is not practiced that often nowadays. The groom bears all the expenses of the wedding. There is no concept of dowry in Brahui culture. When the groom is given a bath and wears the special *boski* (cream colored *shalwar kameez*) dress and turban, he is not allowed to put his feet on the floor. Cousins lift him on their shoulders and take him where he has to go. Before *Nikah* (wedlock), the groom is taken for *sargas* in which he is taken in a car for a round. After *sargas*, when the groom sits on the *saej*, he is served with *shurdi* (a special sweet) and is asked for money. Grierson says that they intermarry freely with non-Brahui tribes, and owing to the mixed character of the race nearly every Brahui is bilingual.[36]

Customs of birth

After the birth of a child, it is announced by the housewife. When there is a male child she cries three times while on the

34. Ibid., p.118.
35. Razaqi, Shahid Hussain, Prof., *Pakistani Musalmanon ki Rosoom wa Riwaaj*, Lahore, Sang-E-Meel Publications, 1996, p.129.
36. Sabir, GhawasBakhash (Translator) Aftab-i-Taza (Brahui Novel) written by GulBungalzai, Islamabad, Pakistan Academy of Letters, 1995,p.126.

birth of a girl she cries once.[37] A daughter is seen as little more than a gift to one's neighbor. Birth of a male child is taken as a source of pride and is often celebrated in Brahui culture. It has great importance for a Brahui and they celebrate it by firing gunshots in the air. They slaughter goats to celebrate the son's birth. Various rituals are followed to protect the mother and child from the attention of witches and *jinn* (evil spirits). A male child may undergo circumcision (*sunnat*) within six months. This is properly celebrated and the cost associated with the celebrations cause many to postpone it until as late as the age of ten. Sheep are slaughtered (two for a son and one for a daughter) and a feast held for relatives, friends, and neighbors. The child is then named, sometimes after a worthy ancestor. The head-shaving ritual (*sar-kooti)* is performed by the time the child is two years old, often at the shrine of a favored saint. No particular ceremonies accompany the male reaching puberty. An unusual rite is reported to be followed when a girl begins to menstruate for the first time. At sunset, the mother arranges three stones in a triangular pattern on the ground and has her daughter leap over them three times. It is thought that this will ensure that the girl's periods during the rest of her life will last no more than three days.

Rituals of death

If someone dies, the news is conveyed to all the relatives so that they can come to the funeral. For three days meals are provided to the grieved family.[38] Meals are arranged by the grieved family itself on the third day after death, and every Thursdays till the 40th (*Chaliyo*) day after death. The 40th day after death is the very important day.[39]

37. Grierson, G.A., Linguistic Survey of Pakistan Vol. I Introductory (*Being Vol I Part I of the Linguistic Survey of India*), Lahore, Accurate Printers, n.d., p.93.

38. Razaqi, Shahid Hussain, Prof., *Pakistani Musalmanon ki Rosoom wa Riwaaj*, Lahore, Sang-E-Meel Publications, 1996, p. 55.

A shroud is sent for from outside the house, and when the *mullah* (Muslim priest) arrives, the body is carried to a place of washing. It is washed by the mullah and near kinsmen (or the mullah's wife and female relatives, in the case of a woman), then wrapped in the shroud. The body is taken in procession to the graveyard, with the mourners reciting the *kalima*, the profession of faith. At the graveside, the mullah offers the prayer for the dead, and the body is given its burial. Other rituals include the singing of dirges (*moda*), and a death feast (*varagh*). Another feast is held on the first anniversary of the death.

Living conditions

Grierson says that Brahuis lead a pastoral life, subsisting on the produce of their herds, and are generally inoffensive, sociable, and given to hospitality.[40] Brahui settlements essentially reflect the economic activities of their inhabitants. Pastoral nomadism was the traditional occupation of many Brahui: nomadic herders lived in tents and temporary camps, migrating with their herds in search of pasture. They live chiefly on the products of their herds. Pastoralism has declined in importance in recent years. Many Brahuis have adopted a way of life, based on a seasonal migration to differing elevations. Villages in the highlands suitable for cultivation are occupied for nine-month growing season. During the winter months, these Brahuis drive their herds to the lowlands where they live in tent camps.

The physique of Brahui people

Grierson writes about the physique of Brahui people that they are somewhat below the medium height, with an oval

39. Razaqi, Shahid Hussain, Prof., Pakistani *Musalmanon ki Rosoom wa Riwaaj*, Lahore, Sang-E-Meel Publications, 1996, p.188.
40. Sabir, Ghawas Bakhash (Translator) Aftab-i-Taza (Brahui Novel) written by Gul Bungalzai, Islamabad, Pakistan Academy of Letters, 1995, p.129.

face, round eyes, and high slender nose, have no physical characteristics entitling ethnologists to class them as members of the Dravidian race of India proper, but that their language is in its essence Dravidian.[41] In physique, they are very easily distinguished from their neighbors, the Balochis, and Pathans, being a smaller, sturdier people with rounder faces characterized by the flat, blunt and coarse features of the Dravidian races. They are of a dark brown color, their hair and beards being often brown not black. They are an active, hardy race, and though as avaricious as the Pathans, are more trustworthy and less turbulent. Their weapons are rifles, swords, and shields. They do not use the Afghan knife or any spears.

Clothing and dress

Their ordinary dress is a tunic or shirt, trousers gathered in at the ankles and a cloak usually of brown felt. Men wear turbans to cover their heads but generally, their headgear is around skullcap with tassel or button. For men, a turban (*pag*) completes the outfit.[42] The women are not strictly veiled. Sandals of deer or goatskin are worn by all classes. Males wear wide loose *shalwars* and knee-long shirts, whereas, females wear a frock like a shirt which has a pocket at its front. The shirts have embroidery work with embedded small round mirror pieces.[43] Embroidery on shoes is also liked.[44] Women wear a big *chaadar* which is a long rectangular piece of cloth dropping down the shoulders. Even the young boys wear clothes similar to men. A young boy is given his first trousers at about three years of age, and thereafter wears clothes similar to those of adult males—the *kurti* (long shirt), worn over the

41. Ibid., p.93.
42. Ibid., p.93.
43. Sabir, Ghawas Bakhash (Translator) Aftab-i-Taza (Brahui Novel) written by Gul Bungalzai, Islamabad, Pakistan Academy of Letters, 1995, p.122.
44. Ibid., p.42.

shalwar, the loose, baggy trousers found throughout the area. Women wear a long shift over trousers, although among Brahui nomads women wear skirts rather than trousers. Among the Brahuis of the Jhalawan region, women's shifts are typically black in color. Women's clothes are embroidered with various patterns and designs in colored thread. Women's ornaments include finger rings (*challav*), nose rings (*vat*), and earrings (*panara*). Brahuis settled in the Sindh region tend to dress like the Sindhi population.

Food

Brahui and Baloch enjoy the same kind of food. *Sajji* is a very famous dish among Brahuis. Leg piece of a goat or a sheep is cooked on fire which is known as *sajji*. Mutton is an important component of the Brahui diet. The settled Brahui cultivate wheat and millet, which are ground into flour and baked into unleavened bread. Rice is also eaten, but usually only on special occasions. Mutton and goat are important in the diet of the Brahui. The more-affluent farmers in lowland areas may raise cattle. As is common throughout South Asia, food is eaten with one's hands, and often from a communal platter. Milk is drunk and also made into curds, *ghi* (clarified butter), buttermilk, and butter.[45] Dates, wild fruits, and vegetables are also part of the Brahui diet. *Shorba* and *chapati* are usually eaten.[46] Tea is drunk at meals and is also taken as part of various social ceremonies.[47]

Judiciary

Brahuis rarely go to formal courts. They have their own judicial system known as *Jirga*.[48] It mainly has five members known as *Panchh*. The *sardar* of the tribe gives the decision. Rules are decided by the *jirga* and are enforced

45. Ibid., p.125.
46. Ibid., p.106.
47. Ibid., p.125.
48. Ibid., pp.21,44.

by them. Following are some of the rules that are commonly practiced: In the case of murder, the murderer has to pay either blood money or get their daughter/sister married in the victim's family. The murderer can be forgiven if a woman from the murderer's family (usually his mother) goes as *merh* to the victim's family along with a Quran and asks for forgiveness. If a man and woman are found guilty, the *Jirga* either decides to kill them or it might give some other decision depending upon the circumstances.

Education

Levels of literacy (the ability to read and write) among the Brahui are extremely low. The 1972 census for the Kalat Division of Baluchistan Province recorded an overall literacy rate of only 6 percent in the population over ten years of age. Some of them still believe that formal education is of no use especially for girls. Therefore, only a niche avails formal education. The Brahui live in areas of Pakistan where there is no access to formal schooling, and even where schools do exist, attendance is low. In settled areas such as the Sindh region where Brahui children are more likely to attend school, they are taught in the local language rather than in Brahui. In the early days the Brahui *sardars* did not like the people to get an education.[49]

Health

A sick person is treated with wild plants.[50] Amulets are also fastened around his neck.[51] They help each other, by giving cash or cattle, in sufferings especially when someone fells ill.[52]

Hospitality

Brahuis are known for their hospitality.[53] They consider their guests as a blessing and they serve them with great

49. Ibid., p.37.
50. Ibid., p.84
51. Ibid., p.101.
52. Ibid., p.101.
53. Ibid., pp.102,99.

meals.[54] They slaughter animals to prepare special meals for their guests. The guest is considered to be the guest of the whole village.

Crafts, hobbies, music, and dance

Brahui women embroider their garments with colorful designs. Tents and rugs are made from sheep's wool or goats' hair. The Brahuis have an oral tradition of folk songs and heroic poems. These are sung by a class of professional minstrels and musicians called *Dombs*, who are attached to every Brahui community. Musical instruments include the *rabab* (an Afghan stringed instrument plucked with a piece of wood), the *sironz* (a stringed instrument played with a bow), and the *punzik* (a reed instrument). These have replaced the *dambura* (a three -stringed instrument played with the fingers) which is found in the more isolated areas. Dancing is an important feature at events such as weddings.

Superstitions

They believe in various types of superstitions. For example, when they leave for some work and everything goes right they consider it the effect of a good omen.[55] They consider the killing of someone or oppression upon someone, as the main causes of famine and other natural disasters.[56]

Professions and occupations

Historically, the Brahuis were pastoral nomads, migrating with their herds of sheep, goats, and cattle from the

54. Grierson, G.A., Linguistic Survey of Pakistan Vol. I Introductory (*Being Vol I Part I of the Linguistic Survey of India*), Lahore, Accurate Printers, n.d., p.93.
55. Sabir, Ghawas Bakhash (Translater) Aftab-i-Taza (Brahui Novel) written by Gul Bungalzai, Islamabad, Pakistan Academy of Letters, 1995, p.32
56. Ibid., p.126.

upland plateaus to the low-lying plains.[57] Today, however, many Brahuis have abandoned their pastoral activities in favor of transhumant (seasonal migration between lower and higher elevations) or settled agriculture. They are mainly landlords and do farming. In the Kachhi lowlands, river and canal irrigation support cultivation, but settlements in other areas of the Brahui region depend on qanat irrigation, a system of tunnels dug between shafts to carry water. Some of the modern Brahuis, who get a formal education, work mainly for the government.

Sports and recreation

Horse-racing and target-shooting were traditional sports popular among the more affluent sections of the Brahui community. In the past, the Brahuis had to depend on their own resources for entertainment and recreation. They found this in their family celebrations, their traditions of folk song and dance, and in the festivities accompanying religious observances. This is still true for nomadic Brahuis today. Those settled in Karachi or villages on the plains have an access to more modern forms of recreation.

Social problems

The Brahui tribes inhabit some of the harshest, most-isolated, and least-productive environments in Pakistan. Here rainfall is very low and earth remains dry.[58] This is reflected in the relative inefficiency of traditional economic systems and the generally low standards of living of the community.[59] Belated government efforts to bring development to the region have done little for the welfare of the Brahuis, who are essentially nomadic and rural in character. The Brahuis are one of the many tribal minorities in a country dominated by ethnic elites. The lack of a written literature has hindered the development

57. Ibid., p.55
58. Ibid., p.55
59. Ibid., pp.93,106.

of a tribal consciousness, and matters are made worse by the declining numbers of people speaking Brahui. The Brahui appear to be rapidly assimilating with the surrounding Balochi populations. Themes of the short stories before 1960 are mainly social issues.[60]

The Behavior of sardars

Great importance is given to *sardar* in the social organization of Brahui society.[61] The character and behavior of *sardars* are not commendable. They are against the education of the common people and want them to be in darkness.[62] The poor people pay tax to the *sardars*.[63] Whenever an issue is presented to *sardars*, they take a partial decision.[64] The *sardars* don't shake hands with poor people.[65] Harassment of women by *sardars* has also been found.[66] Ahmad Shuja Pasha writes that in Balochistan the tribal chief holds the sway. It is generally believed that anything that belongs to the tribe or an individual from the tribe belongs to the chief. Enlightenment has now reached the remotest areas but changes are slow and are coming haltingly.[67]

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60. Ibid., p.106.
61. Afzal Murad, MukhtasarTarikhZaban-o-AdabBrahui, Islamabad, NLA, 2009, p.135.
62. Malik, MuzaffarHasan, Dr., Nasliyat-i-Pakistan, Islamabad, National Language Authority, 2003, p. 243.
63. Sabir, GhawasBakhash (Translater) Aftab-i-Taza (Brahui Novel) written by GulBungalzai, Islamabad, Pakistan Academy of Letters, 1995, p.84.
64. Ibid., pp.107,112.
65. Ibid., p.24.
66. Ibid., pp.24,93.
67. Pasha, Ahmad Shuja, Pakistan the cultural heritage, Lahore, Sang-E -Meel Publications, 1998, p.103.

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14

Brahui Ruler Mir Mehrab Khan

Prof. Naimatullah Soomro

After the demise of Mir Mehmood Khan his eldest son Mir Mehrab Khan became Khan of Kalat. He had the qualities of head and heart for governing the territory. The *sardars* of Kech and Makran recognized his authority as a ruler. During his rule one of the descendants of Mir Mohabat Khan, Ahmed Yar Khan rebelled against him. He was defeated three times and in his fourth attempt to invade Kalat territory, he himself was killed. The sons of Ahmed Yar Khan, Shahnawaz Khan and Fateh Khan were both made captive.

Brahui chieftains disliked Khan of Kalat's chief advisor Dad Mohammed. They attacked him, however, luckily Khan Mehrab Khan and Dad Mohammed escaped. As a result, hostility was created between chieftains and Khan. The regions in Punjab under the suzerainty of Kalat were attacked by Raja Ranjit Singh in 1830. Khan Mehrab Khan remained fully engaged in the battles in his almost whole life. The sons of Ahmed Yar Khan contrived to escape from the captivity.

At that time, former ruler of Afghanistan, Shah Shuja, tried again to recapture his lost throne, but he was defeated by Raheem Dil Khan at Kandahar and consequently, he took refuge in Kalat. Raheem Dil Khan followed him leading his 2000 troops. Despite such a battle threat, keeping in view Brahui customs and traditions Mir Mehrab Khan offered shelter to Shah Shuja.

At that time the government of Kalat became center

of conspiracies and intrigues. On the one hand, Mehrab Khan had full trust in Dad Mohammed Khan and on the other hand loyalists of Fateh Mohammed Khan had enmity with the latter. This hostility was in full swing.

In 1833, at last, Dad Mohammed was killed. At the beginning of 1838, the Britishers intended to seat Shah Shuja on the throne of Afghanistan. Sir Alexander Burnes send Lieutenant Leech to Mehrab Khan as a representative with a mission to seek safe passage for British troops to Afghanistan through Bolan Pass. The British representatives exerted pressure on Khan of Kalat not only to grant safe passage but also manage food and other necessary arrangements for the soldiers for which Britishers promised to make payments.

An agreement was reached between the Khan of Kalat and the British on March 28, 1839. The Khan, under duress, acknowledged the sovereignty of Shah Shuja over him because he was under tremendous pressure in his struggle with the Brahui *sardars*. He agreed to facilitate the movement of the Army of Indus to Kandahar through Khangarh (Jacobabad), Dhadhar, the Bolan Pass, Quetta, and the Khojak pass and provide supplies and protection to the passing army. In return, the British agreed to pay Mir Mehrab Khan 150,000 rupees. The British at that time were not aware that the Khan of Kalat was not in total control and that there were Baloch tribes that operated independently and outside his control. When the British forces were passing through the Bolan Pass, they were attacked by the tribes of Kachhi and Bolan area. The British accused the Khan of Kalat of a double cross and of violating the agreement.

Britishers complained that with Khan of Kalat that some miscreants had looted their provision stores. Khan sent his brother Azam Khan to establish the administration and safeguard their security. After that Captain Burnes from Quetta send Sir W. McNaughten to Kalat with the

message for Khan Mehrab Khan that he should come to welcome Shah Shuja and make a permanent truce with Britishers. Khan wanted to meet them and monitor and probe their intentions and behavior, but cunningness of Mulla Muhammad Hussain and Sayed Sharif came in his way and he could not come in contact with Britishers.

The people belonging to three clans e.g. Kurds, Bangulzais and Marris started plundering the people at Bolan Pass. Khan became helpless in this matter. On one hand, the Britishers were demanding safe passage for their Army of Indus, while on the other hand, Mulla Mohammed Hussain was playing dual game i.e. he was misguiding the Khan about the intentions of the Britishers. He was also engaged in inciting Britishers against Khan.

In 1839 British troops reached Quetta through Gandawa and Bolan. Captain Burnes reached Kalat along with Sayed Mohamed Sharif. Khan made a covenant that he would be responsible for the security of British troops from Shikarpur to Quetta, but he refused to meet Shah Shuja because Mulla terrified him that if he went to Quetta he would be made captive by the Britishers. This was the reason that fanned the feeling of hatred between the two sides.

In the first expedition of Britishers, they invaded Kandahar and Ghazni and became victorious. Major General Wilshire decided to attack Kalat from Quetta with his troops. Khan came to know about this too late. He had local troops numbering 12,000 soldiers. Within this short period, he tried to communicate with the neighboring tribal chiefs to strengthen his troops but they did not respond positively. Even, Mehrab Khan sent his daughter to one of the Sardars for help but nothing materialized. On the contrary, *sardars* welcomed the English general Wilshire, when he was on his way towards Kalat, at every stopover. Not only did they supply the British with fodder but also with horses and camels.

On 5th of November 1839, British troops attacked the fort of Kalat with the help of six cannons. One gate was smashed. Khan tried to defend the fort with the assistance of a few *sardars* who were armed only with swords. They fought bravely but it is a fact that the swords cannot defeat guns. In the afternoon of 13 November 1839, the most powerful head of the Brahui state fell. Mehrab Khan was killed with a sword in his hands. There were thirty-nine wounds on the body of martyr Mehrab Khan. He sacrificed his life along with four hundred supporters. The others who were also martyred that day included : Sardar Wali Mohammad Shahezai Mengal (maternal uncle of Mehrab Khan), Mir Taj Mohammad Shahezai Mengal (cousin of Mehrab Khan), Mir Mohammad Ali Shahezai Mengal, Fazal Mohammad (brother of Sardar Mohammad Khan Lehri), Sardar Zaman Khan Pandrani, Mir Dad Karim Chandozai Shahwani, Shahbaz Khan Nechari, Mir Badal Khan Nechari (brother of Sardar Shahbaz Khan Nechari), Arbab Khan Mohammad Dehwar (guardian of Kalat city), Mir Nabibakhsh Jatoi (from Narmuk), Mir Qaiser Khan Bizenjo, Mir Shahdost Bizenjo, Mohammad Ramzan Wazirkhel, Noor Mohammad Shahi son of Bolaat Sagaar Sarmastani (in charge of Arsenal), Taj Mohammad Shahghesi, Diwan Bachamal (minister of treasury), Diwan Kehm Chand, Diwan Asar Das Muki (head of Hindu community in Kalat) and others. British lost thirty-two of their men, in them, was lieutenant Gravatt, and one hundred and seven of them were wounded.

How the Khan and his army fought can be judged from the comments of enemy's commander, general Wilshire, who says about them: "The enemy making a most gallant and determined resistance, disputing every inch of ground up to the walls of the inner citadel….. the defense of Kalat was much well organized than Ghazni castle, this brave castle contained more than two thousand people including dwellers and fighters. I lament to say,

that the loss of killed and wounded on our side has been severe"

Other two thousand soldiers were made captive. Akhund Muhammad Siddique and Deputy Raheem Dad surrendered. Britishers found some letters under the pillow of the bed of Mehrab Khan which exposed the treachery of some of the so-called loyal men and it proved infidelity and treachery of some *sardars*. Mulla Mohammed Hussain and Raheem Dad were made captive. Britishers found a large treasure from the house of Mulla Muhammad Hussain and they found some blank papers bearing the stamps of Khan.

Britishers seated Mir Shahnawaz Khan from the posterity of Muhabat Khan on the ruling seat, on the pretext that Khan's son has not attained the age of puberty. The fertile regions of Mastung, Quetta, Kachhi, and Gandawa were given in the control of Shah Shuja. In fact, Khan fought bravely and valiantly. He tried to rule the country justly and wisely but some of his followers became traitors. Khan left his footprints on the pages of history. In short, Khan Mehrab Khan was a true son of the soil.

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